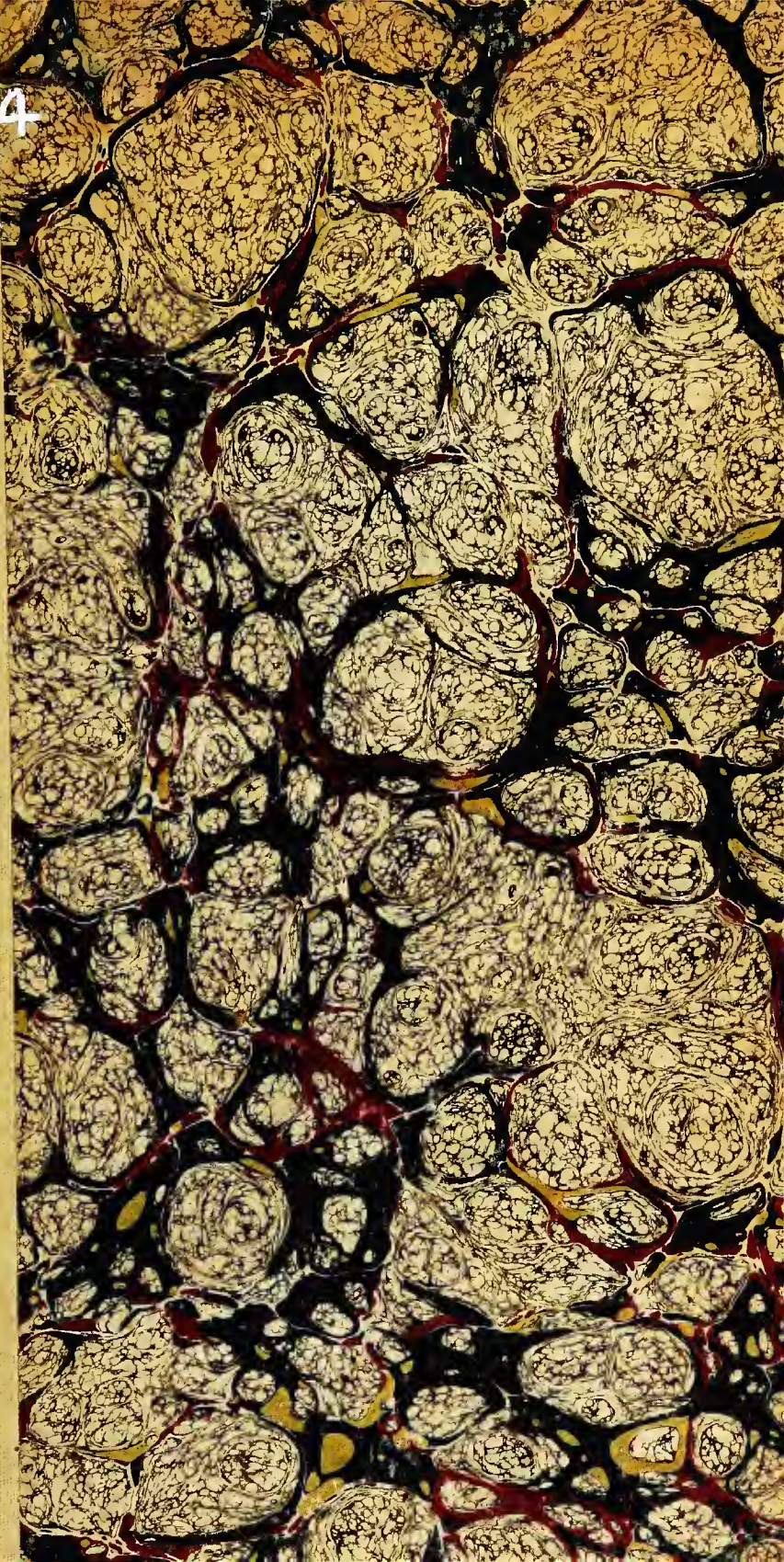


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XXVIII

STUDIES ON LYDGATE'S SYNTAX  
IN THE TEMPLE OF GLAS

C. 1403.

BY

ANDRÉ COURMONT

ÉLÈVE DE LA FACULTÉ DES LETTRES, AGRÉGÉ DE L'UNIVERSITÉ

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## PREFACE

I purpose in the ensuing studies to make *The Temple of Glas*, a poem in five-beat lines, written about 1403 by John Lydgate, the object of a detailed syntactical inquiry. No work has hitherto appeared on Lydgate's syntax, though his conspicuous position at the entrance of the great transition century which followed Chaucer, marks him out as an excellent guide to the state of the English language at one of its most critical turning-points.

*The Temple of Glas* besides, was peculiarly suitable for philological research, because it has been edited for the Early English Text Society by Dr Schick, in a most thoroughgoing manner. Seven Mss and five printed editions of this text are known, ranging approximately from 1403-4 to a few years beyond 1500 : Dr Schick, selecting the earliest Ms. as the basis of his edition, gives at the foot of each page a list of all the variants gathered from subsequent copies, manuscript and printed. I feel bound to acknowledge thankfully that this has been of great use to me in tracing the history of syntactical facts through the xv<sup>th</sup> century, and I would insist a little on the value of these variants.

Scribes and printers' revisers of the time had not the least share of that care and respect for their original which are considered now to be the chief qualifications of an able editor ; they on the contrary thought it their duty to remove whatever struck them as antiquated or, to describe their probable feeling more accurately perhaps, as bad English, for it seems they looked upon old readings rather in the light of blunders. At any rate, they went to work « amending » as they called it, in the majority of cases systematically, and then we may be sure that when they go out of their way to alter a construction at the

cost of no little trouble and ingenuity, since they had now to draw largely on stop-gaps, now to pare down the context, in order to preserve the metre, we may be sure, I say, that the construction which they suppressed was very objectionable to them, and consequently did not belong to contemporary syntax. If on the other hand the change was introduced unconsciously, we may be sure also that the construction which drove the authentic one out of the copyist's mind was then the more usual of the two. All this is confirmed by the fact that there are well-nigh no aimless variants, no mere slips in the whole of the apparatus criticus, and besides, when the results obtained can be compared with conclusions arrived at in another way, both are found to agree. It stands proved therefore that in Schick's variants, we really see Caxton, for instance, pointing out to us in detail what he did not understand or approve of in Lydgate's syntax, and telling us what he, Caxton, would say instead.

At the end of this preface a list of Mss and prints will be given and each copy dated as nearly as possible.

From what has just been said on the way in which the variants have been made use of, the reader already understands that I have not confined myself to describing facts and illustrating them with quotations from my text : it seems to me that such a way of dealing with the syntax of a work bereaves it of life, as if it were only a dry catalogue of uses. I have on the contrary taken pains always to consider my author's syntax as but a moment in an evolution, making this evolution itself the object of chief interest. In each case accordingly, after the facts have been duly described and confirmed by quotations (both from the *Temple of Glas*, and, when necessary, from *Reson and Sensuallyte*, another work of Lydgate's, written c. 1406-8), I proceed to trace them up to earlier Middle English times, bestowing special attention on Chaucer, and then their future career is sketched ; in the course of these two excursions, which are always speedily conducted, we gain a knowledge first of the origin of the facts under consideration, whether they are genuinely Anglo-Saxon or evince French influence, also of their true psychological nature, if it was not apparent at first sight, further, of their age at Lydgate's time, and whether they still have a long lease of life.

Such treatment of the subject will enable me in the end to give a tolerably precise view of the position of Lydgate's syntax between Chaucer and early Modern English.

As to the general order in which the various questions are examined, it is the following: from the elements of language which are loosest in the main structure, to those which are most intricately involved with it. That is, first, the Syntactical Functions, from the Adjective which has but little bearing on the context and may be removed or altered at pleasure if the sense changes, to the Relative, the connections of which are subtle and extend over two clauses; then, the Word-Order, on which the integrity and intelligence of a clause depends; and lastly the Clause-Order which is one and the same with that very main structure above mentioned.

I can only add in conclusion that I look forward to an opportunity of better applying the method which this preface briefly describes; I also hope that the present attempt will not meanwhile be found too unworthy of the high subject it deals with, for what subject can be higher than the study of an intellectual construction to which millions of human hearts and minds have unconsciously contributed their life-long efforts?

A. COURMONT.

Paris, May 1910.

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LIST OF TEXTS MOST FREQUENTLY QUOTED

---

*Bēowulf* Ed. Wyatt.

Sweet's *Anglo-Saxon Reader* 8<sup>th</sup> ed.

*Specimens of Early English*, R Morris, Part I, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed.

Chaucer's *Complete Works*, Ed. Skeat (in one vol.)

Lydgate's *Temple of Glas* ed. by Dr Schick for the E. E. T. S.

Lydgate's *Reson and Sensuallyte* ed. by Dr Sieper for the E. E. T. S.

Hoccleve's *Minor Poems* ed. by Dr Furnivall for the E. E. T. S.

Hoccleve's *Regement of Princes* ed. by Dr Furnivall for the E. E. T. S.

Caxton's *Blanchardyn and Eglantine* ed. by Dr Kellner for the E. E. T. S.

*La Chanson de Roland* éd. Léon Gautier.

*Le Roman de la Rose* éd. Francisque Michel.

Other works referred to are :

Kellner's *Historical Outlines of English Syntax*.

Abbott's *Shakespearian Grammar*.

Murray's *New English Dictionary*.

Einenkel's *Streifzüge durch die Mittelhenglische Syntax*.

E. Etienne *Essai de Grammaire de l'Ancien Français*.

LIST OF THE MANUSCRIPTS AND PRINTED COPIES  
OF THE *TEMPLE OF GLAS*  
WITH THEIR APPROXIMATE DATES

---

T (Tanner 346, Bodleian)	1400-10	} Manuscripts.
G (Gg 4. 27 University Library, Cambridge)	c. 1430	
F (Fairfax 16 Bodleian)	1440-50	
S (Add. MS 16165, British Museum)	c. 1450 by John Shirley	
P (Pepys 2006, Magdalene Coll. Cambridge)	c. 1450	
L (Longleat 258, belongs to the Marquis of Bath)	1460-70	} Prints.
B (Bodley 638 Bodleian)	1470-80	
C (Caxton's print)	c. 1478	
W, W <sub>2</sub> , w (Wynken de Worde's three prints)	c. 1500	}
b (Berthelet's print)	very early XVI <sup>th</sup> century.	

N. B. In the lists of variants, Pr stands for C, W, W<sub>2</sub>, w, b, and is used when they all agree.

PART I

VALUE AND USE  
OF THE SYNTACTICAL FUNCTIONS



## 1. — ADJECTIVES

### § 1. — ADJECTIVES USED SUBSTANTIVELY.

Adjectives can be used substantively with great freedom in our poem; two cases deserve special notice and study.

a) In the plural, denoting a category of persons, with or without article.

This is frequently met with :

« ... double louers pat loue þingis nwe  
Thurgh whos falsnes hindred be *þe trwe* » 168.

All adjectives, not a few individual ones as in modern syntax, can be so used and very often without the article :

« To voide *woful* oute of her heuynes » 331 ;

« woful » meaning « woeful people » sounds strange to a modern reader ; so did it already to the scribe of L and to all the printers of our text from Caxton to Berthelet, for all these have « woful hertes ».

Lydgate can write also

« Deuoid of pride, to *pore* not despitous » 761.

Shirley rather ingeniously substitutes « to pore folkis pitous ». The following is a striking instance of the same usage :

« Heigest of *high*, quene and Emperice (P = hight)  
Goddess of loue, of *goode* ȝit *pe* best » 462 (P = goddess).

We have to conclude from this that Venus is the highest of all high beings and the best of all the good ones.

Similar cases occur in Chaucer, also without the article :

- « For he noght helpeth *needfulle* in hir nede »  
*Canterbury Tales*, B 112  
 « Now, lady bright to whom alle *woful* cryën »  
 B 85o  
 « Allas ! what sholden *straunge* to me doon »  
*Troilus* II 411.

We have a parallel to « Heiȝest of high » in

- « Faireste of faire, o lady myn, Venus ! »

and also in the *Cuckoo and the Nightingale*, the burden of the final ballad :

- « For of al *goode* she is the beste lyvyng. »

It is hardly necessary to call in French influence in order to account for this use of the adjective, though French may have had some effect in keeping it up ; we find it in early Middle English : « And botnede *blinde* » *Marharette I*, « alle widewen and *weddede* bape » *Hali Maidenhad* 5 (both c. 1230) ; also in A. S. Our variants point to the disappearance of this construction about the end of the XV<sup>th</sup> century, which agrees with Kellner, *Historical Outlines of English Syntax* (§ 241).

b) In the singular, denoting one person in particular.

Also very common :

- « And whan *þis benygne*, of hir entent trwe  
 Conceyued hap þe compleint of þis man... » 1041

« *þis benygne* » applies to the lady of the poem ; she is referred to in the same way in two more passages, l. 311, l. 1402 ; the same lady is meant in these lines :

- « To loue and serue whiles þat I am on lyue  
*The goodli fressh* in þe tempil yonder » 577 ;

in line 731 she is « *That goodli fressh* » and Emilie of the *Knighes Tale* is a « *faire fressh* » in line 106. It might be thought

that in the above instances « fressh » has already been fossilised into a noun, but this is disproved by the following in which we shall find « benygne » « goodli » « fressh » and a few other adjectives, all felt as such, though used substantively:

« And whan þis *goodli, faire, fressh* of hwe  
*Humble* and *benygne*, of trouþ crop and rote  
 Conceyued h. p.... 456 ;

since it is followed by « of hwe » « fressh » is certainly looked upon by Lydgate as an adjective, and so therefore, of all the rest; but on the other hand these adjectives are put syntactically on the same footing as « crop and rote » and have consequently the value of nouns.

Similarly, « Calkas » is called in Chaucer « this olde greye » *Tr* 2 IV 127, and « Criseyde » is addressed by her lover as « O goodli fresshe free! » *Tr* 2 III 128; in the *House of Fame*, the poet begins his invocation to Venus in these words: « Now, faire blisful, O Cipris..... » 518. James I of Scotland, the royal author who learnt his poetical language from Chaucer and Lydgate, alludes to Joan Beaufort, his wife, in the phrase « That verray womanly » *Kingis Quair* 42. 3.

This use of the adjective is very frequent in Anglo-Saxon; I refer to Kellner for instances (§ 239, 2); but, in Middle English it seems to be limited to verse. Moreover, both in Lydgate and James I, it may be merely the result of Chaucerian imitation, since these two authors seem to be the only ones in whose works it is found after the XIV<sup>th</sup> century.

## § 2. — ADJECTIVES IN *li*.

See § 8 under Adverbs.

## § 3.

a) Adjectives in « able » or « ible » with active meaning

«                    5e were suffrable  
 So low, so meke... » 1267.

Here, « suffrable » evidently means « patient, enduring » ; this is not a mere accident : very often in Lydgate adjectives in « able » or « ible » mean, inclined to undergo or able to do the action expressed by the root of the word ; « suffrable » occurs again in this sense in *Reson and Sensuallyte* :

« For ther is noon so meke a best (as woman)  
So humble in soth, no more suffrable » 6297

and in Chaucer ;

« And sith a man is more resonable  
Than womman is, ye moste ben suffrable » D 442.

Lydgate has also « deceivable » « defensible » « credible » ; we are told in *Secreta Secretorum* that a King must not be

« lyghtly credible  
To talys that make discensioun » (from Schick's note to l. 1266).

b) Adjectives in « ful » with passive meaning.

Lydgate calls the unhappy lover of his poem « a dredful man » (964) which evidently means « suffering from dread » ; giving to « dred » the sense of « anxiety ». It is curious to notice that P altered « dredful » into « woful » as if to remove a possible ambiguity. In Chaucer we have « dredful herte », (L 109 text B) which the context shows to mean « timid heart ».

The last two paragraphs will be found to possess some interest as supplying precedents to Shakspeare's well-known indifference to the voice of adjectives (See Abbott § 3).

#### § 4. — « WELE » (WELL) AS AN ADJECTIVE.

This is met with twice in our poem :

« ...pis ladi faire and *wele* » 1279 and 1057.

The sense is « good » in both cases ; we can easily account for this by considering how the phrase « me is well » was gradually corrupted into « I am well » on the analogy of similar cases in which a dative noun appeared in the place of the pronoun « me » ; the inflection disappeared and the noun was looked upon as a



nominate; consequently then « well » was taken for an adjective; which explains its use here. The same is true of « wo », with one difference viz., that « woe » can no longer be used as an adjective now, whereas « well » is of every day occurrence in this function, with the strictly limited meaning of « well in health », it is true.

### § 5. — ABSOLUTE ADJECTIVE.

Such is the name I suggest for a function of the adjective in which its syntactical strength is very great, containing as it does the value of a whole clause :

« *Deuoide of ioie, of wo I haue plente* » 349

a construction still current nowadays. More striking instances occur; Venus says to the lover, on sending him to his lady and bidding him be bold and pray for grace :

« Go forpe anon, and be rist of goode chere :  
For *specheles* noping maist pou spede » 905.

The lover accordingly goes to his lady and thus concludes his address : This is my request :

« Opir with merci 3our seruant forto saue,  
Or *merciles* pat I mai be graue » 1039.

« Merciles » refers of course to the lady, the idea of whom is to be extracted from « 3our », and the meaning is « If you, my lady, will not grant me mercy, then let me be buried. » Such vigorous and compact expressions are not rare in Chaucer (See Einkenkel, p. 36) :

« Go love, for, *old*, ther wol no wight of thee » *Tr* II 396.

This, in an attenuated form, is not unknown in modern English, but I have looked in vain for anything like it before Chaucer; it would be fruitless to inquire into the possibility of this construction having its origin in French, since it may very well have risen of itself into existence when the language strove towards precision

and terseness. I shall give one more instance from Chaucer, because it will serve more than one purpose :

« So that she felte almost her herte dye  
For wo and *wery* of that companye. » *Tr* IV 707.

The second line is equivalent to « Because of the woe she felt and because she was weary... ». But notice how « wo » (substant) and « wery » (adj.) seem to be dependent on the preposition « for » in exactly the same way; so that there lurks in this line the possibility of a construction like : « For wery of that company » ; that is to say « for » with adjective having the same value as « for + noun » (« for weriness ») or a whole clause « because..... adj. » (because she was weary..). Well, such a construction did exist and we meet with it several times in our poem ; it is best to call it simply :

#### § 6. — « FOR » AND ADJECTIVE (OR PAST PARTICIPLES)

Let us at once give quotations :

— « I dar not wele for drede and for daunger  
And *for unknowe* tellen hou þe fire... » 632

— « Riȝt *for astoneid* I stode in a traunce » 934  
(Variants : S; b = « sore astoneid » ; C; W;  
W<sub>2</sub>; w = « so astoneid »)

« And *for astoneid* Knewe as þo no rede » 1366  
(Variants S. b = « sore astoneid »).

And lastly when we read \*

« Wipin my bed *for sore* I gan me shroude » 10

we may have doubts whether « sore » is a noun, or an adjective meaning grieved.

The reader notices that our instances contain past participles instead of adjectives; but the function of the former when not joined to a verb is identical with that of the latter. However there is, concerning this, a point of some importance to settle : we know that « for » joined to past participles often is but a mere intensive, and then editors generally link both with a hyphen; — what if this were the case for the instances above quoted ? In

order to show that it is not, I simply point to the first of them in which « for unknowe » is clearly put on the same level syntactically with « for drede » and « for daunger », and where consequently « for » has its prepositional meaning « on account of »; moreover, the supposition that « for » is intensive and means simply « very » would make ridiculous sense in this and the other instances. « For » with adjective is very frequent in Chaucer :

« Of wenches wolde I beren him on hande  
Whan that *for syk* unnethes mighte he stande. » D. 394.

The Wife of Bath's husband could not stand « *for sickness*, because he was sick ». Or again : « A man

« May nought endure on it to see *for brighte* » Tr II 864

« it » is the sun ; a man cannot look at it « for brightness, because it is so bright. » In these instances, and others, Skeat puts no hyphen between « for » and the adjective, and rightly too ; because, first, as has been shown, the true construction admits of no hyphen, and moreover because « for » as intensive with *adjectives* is, at the very least, rare. Nevertheless in a passage where we are told of « Ligure's heer » that

« As any ravenes fether it shoon *for blak* » A. 2144

Skeat's edition has « .... it shoon for-blak », with a hyphen ; but, comparing this with the above, especially with the indubitable instance in Lydgate, it seems evident that the meaning is « for blackness, because it was so black », that we have to consider this as an instance of our construction and that no hyphen is wanted ; this interpretation, besides, does not make the bold assumption necessary, that « for » can be used as intensive with an adjective. The same might be said of :

« Amidde a tree *for drye* as whyt as chalk » F. 409

where Skeat has « fordrye », in one word ; or again of the « beres skin col-black *for old* » A. 2142 which Skeat prints as « for-old<sup>1</sup> »

1. See Einkenel p. 33 who insists on suppressing the hyphens which he found in Morris's Aldine edition — All Mss. (in Furnivall's Six-Text Ed.) agree : they show no hyphen with adjectives, but generally use one with past participles.

Notice that even with past participles the general meaning seems to point, sometimes unavoidably, to some causal sense in « for », thus excluding the supposition that it is intensive, and making the hyphen superfluous :

« The Miller, that *for dronken* was al pale » A 1320.

If we put a hyphen, as Skeat does, and understand « extremely drunk », how are we to explain « al pale » ? the construction « that extremely drunk was all pale » is awkward, to say the least, whereas « that was all pale on account of being drunk » is perfectly logical ; so that here also the hyphen seems to spoil the line. « Ful pale he was *for dronken* » A 4150 is an exactly similar case : it gives much clearer sense without the hyphen.

Sometimes an adverb is allowed to intervene between « for » and the adjective or past participle :

« *for pure<sup>1</sup> ashamed she*  
Gan in her heed to pulle... » *Tr* II 657

or in Lydgate's *Black Knight* « *for very wery* » 647 (quoted by Schick). These adverbs severing « for » from the adj. or past part. make all interpretation but ours utterly impossible.

I have now but a few words to add concerning the history of this strange construction : the earliest instance of something similar which I have seen is from a piece of homiletic verse of the end of the XIII<sup>th</sup> century :

« pe erpe pe water pan sal sprede  
Route and driue al *for wode* » (*A Sarmun* 122 ;  
in Mätzner's *Sprachproben* I 118 ; referred to in Einenkel p. 33).

I am aware that the meaning here is slightly different : not « because they were mad » but « as if they were mad » ; « *for wode* » is not rare in Chaucer with precisely the same meaning (*HF* 1747 ; *L* 2420 ; also « *for pure wood* » *R* 276)<sup>2</sup>.

1. I need hardly say that here « pure » is an adverb meaning « very » as in « So pure suffraunt was hir wit » III 1010 = « so very patient was her mind ».

2. If I am not mistaken there is a modern English descendant of this same « for wode » : it is the not unfrequent colloquial expression « *like mad* » : « He roared like mad » = « he bellowed, shouted *as if he were mad* ».

So, drawing together the information to be derived from the preceding pages, we have (provisionally) the following historical sketch: the construction begins about the end of the xiii<sup>th</sup> century with « for wood »; spreads to other adjectives and to past participles in the xiv<sup>th</sup>, allowing also of adverbs between « for » and the adj. or past part.; is still current at the beginning of the xv<sup>th</sup>; dying soon after (as shown by the fact that Shirley misunderstands it); and is dead at the beginning of the xvi<sup>th</sup>, since all the prints misunderstand it. But all this does not explain *how* the construction arose, nor does it give its exact syntactical nature: more material is needed before an answer is proposed to these two questions.

This closes what we have to say on the few questions of some importance connected with the adjective; but a short

#### Summing up of Results

will help us in the end to realize the position of Lydgate's Syntax: Lydgate's use of the adjective is still strictly Chaucerian; each peculiarity has been traced at least as far back as Chaucer, but the variants show that the three most important constructions, viz., the substantival use of the adjectives in the singular, in the plural without article, and lastly the use of the adjective with « for », ceased to be understood or approved of, before the end of the xv<sup>th</sup> century.

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## II. — ADVERBS

### § 7. — ADVERBS IN THE FORM OF ADJECTIVES.

« As I gan walken *soft* » 180    « ... That pleined *sore* » 42  
 « Sopat I most of necessite  
 Myn hertis lust *out[e]ward* contrarie » 340.

In the last instance « *out[e]ward* » = outwardly, and the general sense is : « my outward appearance must belie my heart ». Instances abound, but I need not further illustrate this well-known use ; what I want to point out is this, that for any period earlier than that to which our poem belongs, the above title would be wrong in most cases, and for the following reason : an « e » would nearly always be found at the end of the pretended adjective, and this « e » stamps the word at once as a real adverb. Even in Chaucer the difference between « fair » adj. and « faire » adv., « loud » and « loude » is always strictly kept ; after Chaucer this « e » disappears in the general disarray of flexion-endings, and words in all points like adjectives are used with adverbial meaning, as in our text<sup>1</sup>.

### § 8. — ADVERBS AND ADJECTIVES IN *li* (*ly*).

A certain confusion reigns on this point : « li » is now an adverbial, now an adjectival ending ; « lowli » is an adv. 1059 and an adj. 1166 ; « womanli » is an adj. ; « goodli » is nearly always adverb, 851, 1000, 1018, 1056 ; *R. and S.* 501 (it is always an

1. The case of « soft » in our first instance presents another peculiarity : in AS « *sōfte* » is an adjective ; and the corresponding adverb is « *sōfte* » without any change since the adjectival form already ends in « e » ; in Chaucer we duly have « *softe* » adj. and « *softe* » adv. ; in Lydgate the « e » forsakes both.

adjective now); « fressshli » is an adjective, « *fressshli face* » 273; this curious « fressshli » adj. has been objected to by three of the MSS. and by all the prints : B, S, L, C, W, W<sub>2</sub>, w = fressshe, b = fayre.

The confusion was already old at the beginning of the XV<sup>th</sup> century and it is lasting still ; at present, however, certain forms in « ly » have been fixed by use as adjectives and others as adverbs (« goodly » exclusively an adj. and « freshly » an adv.) whereas in Lydgate's and Chaucer's time the same form might be either the one or the other. The causes of the old confusion are very well-known and I need not describe them here <sup>1</sup>.

Another fact may come under the same title : as many adverbs in « e » were becoming mere adjectives in outward appearance through the loss of that « e », new corresponding adverbs in « li » came into use ; for instance, in Chaucer « meke » is the adverb, but Lydgate always writes « mekeli » 482 etc.

### § 9. — ADVERBIAL REFERENCE.

In modern English the adverbial reference is strictly limited to the agent of the action expressed by the verb which the adverb modifies ; not so in M. E. :

The lady of our poem loves a man in secret : he knows not that she loves him ; and she says in her prayer to Venus « ... he pat hap myn hert[e] *feipfulli* » 363 ; in this passage « *feipfulli* » refers to the lady who gave her heart for ever, and evidently not to « him » who is not conscious of possessing it , though he too, as we shall learn, loves the lady. Now, she has said her prayer ; Venus has mercy on her : the man she loves shall be made her humble servant through the might of Cupid and of Venus herself ; the lady answers

« ... sipin 3e so *mekeli* list to daunte  
To my servise him pat loveþ me best » 483

in which « mekeli » does not refer to « 3e » (Venus) but to « him »

1. I only refer to Sweet's *Primer of H. E. Grammar* § 397, for the sake of completeness.

whom Venus has made the lady's humble servant in all meekness and humility.

These instances are curious and show a remarkable freedom; indeed this freedom has so influenced one word in particular that its meaning has been down to the present day such as this influence made it; it is the word « unawares » :

We are told by Lydgate that Achilles was

« I-slain *unwarli* within Troi[e] toune » 95

« for Policene » ; and further that Palamon

« Was hurt *unwarli* purugh casting of an eyse » 105

which means in both cases that Achilles or Palamon were hurt or slain without *having expected it*. But « war » means « who sees » « unwar » « who does not see » and « unwarli » « unknowingly » : « he was killed unknowingly » would mean now « he was killed by people who knew not what they were doing », but in ME « unwarli » = « unknowingly » could refer to the *object* as well as to the agent of the action and in our two instances « unwarli » means unknowingly on the part of those who were killed or hurt, not of those who killed the one or hurt the other, since Paris, for one, knew very well what he was doing in Apollo's temple at Thymbre. — And this is why we can still say « I fell in unawares » (into a trap) as well as « I came in unawares » : in the former case « unawares » = unknowingly refers to the agent « I » : but in the latter « unawares » means that *those inside* did not know it. So that the modern double use of « unawares » is to be traced back to *M. E. loose adverbial reference*; compare Chaucer :

« A freend of his that called was Pandare

Com ones in *unwar* and herde him grone » Tr I 549.

I must now touch on two points of narrower scope, each concerning one adverb in particular; it is nevertheless necessary to mention them, since they constitute striking, if minor, features of our monk's syntax.



## § 10. — ADVERBIAL USE OF « ALL ».

a) The *Adverbial use of al with an adjective*, which is but occasional in A. S. becomes a favourite construction with Chaucer and Lydgate :

« <i>Al</i> desolate »	11	« <i>Al</i> solitarie »	550
« <i>al</i> clad in grene and white »			299
« Embrouded <i>al</i> wip stones and perre »			301, etc.

b) The almost *meaningless use of al with prepositions* and other adverbs is not rare :

« And <i>al biforne</i> late hope be pi guide »	892
« So pat <i>al atones</i> I shal nov do my cure »	262, etc.

This is frequent too in Chaucer's works : « *al* withoute » « *al* aboute » « *al* on highte », etc. ; it is a prominent feature in *King Horn* (He tok Apulf his fere *Al abute* þe swere 747) and also in the later poetry of a similar character : the ballads of the xiv<sup>th</sup> and xv<sup>th</sup> centuries.

d) Sometimes « *al* » cannot be referred to any adjective, adverb or verb in particular ; it seems *to modify the whole sentence* :

« ... an oper hap poscessionn <i>Al</i> of his ladi »	173.
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In Chaucer :

« As fyn as ducat in Venyse Of whiche to lyte <i>al</i> in my pouch is »	<i>H. F.</i> 1349.
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This, however, is, unlike the two preceding uses, genuine A. S. :

« . . . . Frēa ælmeahtig »	
« pinra ārna mē <i>eall</i> ne bescerwe »	(Sweet's <i>Reader</i> 34/99).

## § 11. — PERSONAL USE OF « THERE » AND « WHERE ».

A somewhat curious point: « there » and « where » re-

ferring to individuals with a personal instead of a locative sense :

« It is a pitiful thing », the weeping lovers say, for  
 « A man to love to his confusion  
 And nameli *þere where* he shal haue no grace » 229

which means « and especially a *person* in whom he shall find no mercy ».

The following is the complaint of a man who dares not avow his love to *the lady* who is the object of it :

« For *þere þat* I have hoolly set my cure  
 I dar not wele... tellen hou þe fire  
 Of lous brand is kindled in my brest » 634  
 — « *There* to be knit vnder subieccion  
 Fro *whens ferre* are boþ[e] witte and mynde » 345

is the view the lady takes of her own case : she is married to a man she does not love, while all her heart is for the hero of the poem.

Sometimes even the word « place » is used : the lover says « I am bound

« To loue and serue, while þat I haue brep  
 In *such a place* where I dar not pleyn » 627; also 811.

Chaucer has « To loven wel and in a worthy place » *Tr* I 895.  
 — This strange usage appears to be old enough since I find in a Homily written before 1200 : « þa cwed drihten to him, paul ic wat *hwær ic sceal milcien*. Ic *heom nulle milcien þe weren*..... » (Morris III A. 70) and in the *Life of S<sup>t</sup> Juliana* 1210 « *wiue þer* his wil is » (M. VIII 59) « let him marry *whom* he likes »<sup>1</sup>.

The psychological process through which « where » and « there » were transferred from a locative to a personal value, is easily intelligible ; but we can better understand why this transference took place when we remember that « *hwær* » and « *þær* » are respectively from the same stems as « *hwā* » and « *pā* » ; so true it is that the etymological nature of a word breaks out unexpectedly into syntactical peculiarities.

1. On the other hand, I find an instance as late as 1748 ; « ... if she married *where* she did marry » *Clarissa Harlowe*, let. XXXII.

## § 12. — ADVERBIAL PHRASES WITH « OF ».

Many adverbial phrases were formed after the old A. S. adverbial genitive (dæges, nihtes, ealles) with « of » and an adjective and this grew into a regular building-process; in our poem we have: « of riȝt » 425, 954, 1063; « of nwe » 574, 615 and « of hard » 1319 which means « with difficulty »; all these are found in Chaucer, even « of hard » (*Tr* II 1236); but some of them, « of hard » is one, would be looked for in vain earlier than the xiv<sup>th</sup> century, and are of late M. E. formation. They were nearly all doomed to disappear and only a few remnants like « of old » survived in Mn. E.

## Summing up of Results:

Always taking Chaucer as a landmark, the chief changes which we have noticed are: loss of the adverbial suffix « e » and, as a consequence, increasing numbers of adverbs in « li »; on the other hand, two important uses: the loose adverbial reference and the construction of adverbial phrases with of + adjective, as well as the favourite « al » with prepositions and adverbs, « al » as general modifier of the sentence, live out their last days in Lydgate.

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### III. — THE DEMONSTRATIVE

I think it best to settle at once a few questions which it is necessary to deal with here, though they are connected with accident rather than with syntax: *a*) All through Lydgate's works the plural form of « pat » is « po » (corresponding to A. S. « pā » plural of « sē »; the variants show that « po » was allowed to remain undisturbed until Berthelet's print which has « pose » (corresponding to AS « pās » plural of « pes ») in all cases: 1165, 1337, 1351 etc. etc. *b*) All through Lydgate also the plural of « pis » is « pise » or « pese », but the final « e » is often dropped which gives the plural forms « pis » and « pes »; in Skeat's Chaucer the plural of « this » is written « thise » and the « e » is never dropped in the spelling, but the metre shows that « thise » is always monosyllabic (D 560, F 1196 etc. etc.), so that the frequent dropping of the « e » in Lydgate is in accordance with pronunciation<sup>1</sup>.

This plural form of « pis » in its various spellings « pis(e) » or « pes(e) » is coined and a M. E. creation.

I shall not try to account for this creation or for any of the above-described phenomena: it would lead me very far and altogether out of my subject; but I cannot help remarking that, among the many intricacies of this question of the plural forms of the demonstrative, none seems to me so curious as the following: why was « those », a form unknown to Chaucer and to Lydgate, a form never used by them either as the plural of « pis » or of « pat », why did it suddenly appear and displace « po » in the early xvi<sup>th</sup> century?

We have now to consider:

1. It is noteworthy that in Lydgate « *þis* » often means « *þis is* » by contraction: 1037 (in F. B. C.), *Reson and S.* 782 etc. as in Chaucer (V 151... etc.). Cf. also Abbott § 461.

§ 13. — THE DEMONSTRATIVE « *pis* » WITH GENERAL MEANING.

Sometimes the dem. « *pis* » has a very special value, namely that of the French general article in such phrases as « *les femmes* » :

Venus is moralising for the benefit of the lover, and says among other things :

« And forþermore, hauc in reverence  
*Thes women al*, for *pi ladi* sake » 1160  
 (Thes = These, cf. above)

« *Thes women al* » means « women in general », in French « *toutes les femmes* ».

The singular can also have the same value : in the same speech Venus wants to bring home to her hearer the necessity and usefulness of trials in love ; she does it by means of a comparison :

« And penk in fire hou men ar wont to fyne  
*This purid gold*, to put it in assay » 1192.

Here the peculiar quality of this use stands out very clearly : « *This purid gold* » does not mean only « purid gold » in general », but something more, not unlike « purid gold which, of course, you know all about ».

I may be allowed to give one more quotation : in *Reson and S.*, Lydgate speaks very prettily of

« ... grene ver ful of delyt  
 Which prikketk with his appetyt  
*This lusty hertys amerouse* » 93<sup>r</sup>  
 (This = These cf. above).

Chaucer also is very fond of so using the dem. « *this* », and it often has much point in his works : « Dreams are foolish things », says Pandare

« And troweliche eek augurie of *thise foules*...  
 As ravenes qualm or shryking of *thise oules* » *Tr.* V 382.

The same wise person tells Troilus that, as up to now all his

woe came from Criseyde, so may she be his comfort hereafter,

« For, thilke ground that bereth the wedes wikke  
Bereth eek *thise holsom herbs...* » Tr. I 947;

See also L 1167, D 560, F 1196 and Einkenkel p. 18

The same use of « this » enables Chaucer to « stinte » of Palamon, for instance, and then to resume him after fifty lines with a « This Palamon » (A 1574; 1714). In the same tale we similarly have « This Arcite » (A 1596) « This worthy duke » (A 1742) Our view of the exact value of « this(e) » in cases like the above-quoted is confirmed by the comparison of a line out of Chaucer's *Romaunt of the Rose* with the original :

« *Les vieille gens ont tost froidure* » | « *These olde folk havea lwey*  
[colde] » 411.

But sometimes a similar idiom with « ces » is found in the French : the author and hero of the poem is still in bed on a May morning and thinks that he ought to get up and go « out of toun » to hear the music of birds,

« *Qui chantoient par ces buissons* » | « *That on thise bussches singen*  
[clere] » 102.

This shows that « ce » with general meaning is a French usage : it is found as early as *Roland* :

« *Franceis i fierent par vigur et par ire*  
*Trenchent ces puignz, ces costez, ces eschines*  
*Cez vestemenz entresque as cars vives* » 1612;

See also in the same poem 1030-35; 1811; 1832; 1881; 1968; 2537; 2632. On the other hand, Commynes, later than Lydgate, still has very striking instances : « ... un fort treillis de bois comme l'on fait aux cages de *ces lions*. » Or again « ... en *cette chasse* (= la chasse en général) avait quasi autant d'ennui que de plaisir » (Cf. Stimming: die Syntax des Commynes; Zeits. f. rom. Phil. I 191; quoted in Einkenkel). So that the life of this idiom must have remained unweakened between these two periods. Considering also that a demonstrative with a vague general meaning is entirely foreign to A. S. syntax and psychology, there seems to be little doubt that the presence of the idiom in L.M.E. is owing to French influence. It does not appear to have died out entirely from

either language, but is now very limited in both, encroached upon as it is by the definite article (in French) or the absence of article (in English); and, on the whole, this seems to me rather a pity, for there was a special shade or flavour in the old idiom, which it is hardly possible to put into words, but which the reader could not fail to relish; in e.Mn.E. the loss of « pis » with general meaning was exactly supplied by an equally fine use of « your » (See Abbott 221); now, this « your » also is falling into oblivion.

#### § 14. — THE DEMONSTRATIVE WITH INSTRUMENTAL VALUE.

The dem. with instrumental value occurs under two different forms: one is genuine « pe » (AS. *pȳ*); the other is spurious and based on a misunderstanding: « pat ».

##### a) « pe » instrumental.

The use of this word has not varied essentially from A.S. to the present day; it occurs but twice in the whole of our poem (1062-63), while its rival « pat » is very frequent, as we shall immediately see.

##### b) « pat » as spurious instrumental in comparative constructions.

The exact significance and the adequateness of this title will appear by and by after the quotations have been given and considered. When the thought to be expressed is that two facts are dependent in degree on one another, Lydgate always uses the following construction:

« And folk also reiossh[e] *more* of list

*That* *pei* wip derknes were waped and amate » 501

[Variants: S = « penne » (for « That »); b omits « *pei* »].

« That » has here the value of « in that that », or « by that that », « for this reason that »: it has the syntactical strength of an instrumental.

« ... and perfor of ȝow t[w]oo

Shal loue be *more*, *pat* it was bouȝt with wo » 1256

[Var.: S = *sip*, Pr = for (for « pat »)].

About the end of the poem, all the lovers in the Temple sing

a prayer to Venus on behalf of the hero and heroine in order that their love may persevere

« And *more* increse þat it of hard was wonne » 1319

that is « and become all the greater for having been won with difficulty ».

Sometimes a considerable number of words are allowed to intervene between « more » and « pat » :

« And so to ȝow *more sote* and agreeable  
Shal loue be found, I do ȝou plein assure,  
Wip-oute grucching *þat* ȝe were suffrable » 1266  
[Var. : b = if ȝe were].

One more instance from another of Lydgate's works, to show that the construction is general :

« For *more* contrarye was þeir falling lowe  
*That* þey to fore had of no mischief knowe » (*Falls of Princes* 71 d).

In all these instances it is impossible to make sense without understanding « pat » = in that that ..., thus giving to « pat » an instrumental value : but it is only by considering Chaucer's construction in similar cases, that we shall obtain a deeper insight into the nature and origin of this « pat ». In Chaucer we find :

« And wel *the* hootter are the gledis rede  
*That* men hem wryen with asshen pale and dede » *Tr.* II 539.

Our « that » is still there, but « the » stands before the comparative, which makes a great difference : « the » is the old A. S. « *pȳ* » instrumental of « *sē* », equivalent to « in (for) *that* », and thus the type of Chaucer's construction is : « for that hotter ... that men ... », in which the second « that » is only a *conjunction* correlative with the first. And this is confirmed by the A. S. construction, as in *Bēowulf* 487 « *āhte ic holdra þȳ læs ... pē pā dēap fornam* » : « *pȳ* » instrumental and « *pē* » *conjunction* correlative with « *pȳ* ».

It is therefore apparent that the true *historical* nature of



our « pat » in Lydgate is that of a conjunction ; how did it come to have the value of an instrumental demonstrative ? We must start from Chaucer's construction — « *the hooter are the gledis ... that men hem wryen* » — which as we have just seen had been *kept pure since* A. S. times ; now « the » is a weak word (the metre shows it was unstressed), « that » on the other hand is identical in form with the demonstrative : « the » was dropped, « that » was looked upon no longer as a conjunction but as a real demonstrative and its position invested it with instrumental meaning — and so we have Lydgate's construction « *more sote... shall love be found ... þat ȝou were suffrable* ».

This spurious and accidental piece of syntax was allowed to pass undisturbed by all the scribes save Shirley, which shows that, though it was preserved, there may have been some hesitation about it as early as the middle of the xv<sup>th</sup> century. Shirley's way of removing the difficulty is remarkable : he suppresses « pat » and puts a suitable conjunction instead :

« And folk also reiossh[e] more of liȝt  
*Thenne* þei wiþ derknes were waped and amate » 401  
 « ... and perfor of ȝow t[w]oo  
 Shal loue be more *siþ* it was bouȝt with wo » 1256.

In this last case all the prints have « for » instead of « siþ », which comes to the same thing. Clever as this way of emendating may be, Berthelet hit on a better : he simply suppresses « þei » in l. 401 ; thus turning the whole of line 401 into a relative clause dependent on « folk » of l. 400, and introduced by « that », which is made into a relative ; but in line 1266 the same printer entirely alters the sense by turning « pat » into « if ».

On the whole Berthelet's variants in three cases out of four, show that the construction had become quite impossible by his time.

c) « That » with instrumental value, not in comparative constructions.

We have not yet done with the results of the mistake, as it were, which gave rise to the abnormal construction studied in section b) : « pat », we have seen, was therein invested with the

force of an instrumental dem.; the same force it also retained in totally different cases :

« And oper next I saugh pere in gret rage  
*That* pei were married in her tendir age » 210  
 [Var : b omits « *pei* »]

« They were in a great rage for *that* they, because *they*... » ;  
 a clear instance of instrumental value ; and again :

« And oper saugh I ful ofte wepe and wring  
*That* they in men founde swych varyinge » 216  
 « ... what me is best to do  
*þat* I am distraust within my self[en] so » 638  
 [the reading of T. P. L., other Mss. omit « *I* »].

It is impossible in these three quotations to construe otherwise than « (for) that (that) » ; « for » indicating the instrumental value of the first « that », and the second « that » being a conjunction which is of necessity to be supplied for the sense ; and indeed, we actually find these two « *pat* » in one instance, which confirms our view of the construction :

« Allas *pat* euer *þat* it shulde fal » 191  
 [Var : L. S. Pr. omit 2<sup>nd</sup> « *pat* »]

Alas for *that that* it should ever happen.

Despite the variants, it seems this use of « *pat* » was not to die out for a long time : there are undeniable illustrations of it in Shakspeare :

« Like silly beggars  
 Who sitting in the stocks refuge their shame  
*That* many have and others must sit there... »  
*Rich II V 5, 27.*

(See Abbott, § 284 : the first 3 instances.)

Summing up of Results :

The various demonstrative forms as in Chaucer ; « *pis* » with general meaning also common to the monk and his « *maister* ». On the other hand « *pat* » with instrumental value first appears in Lydgate's works : it is soon rejected from comparative constructions, but has a two centuries' lease of life in other cases.

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#### IV. — CONJUNCTIONS

The most important fact to be studied under this heading is the existence of

##### § 15. — FREE CONJUNCTIONAL AFFIXES.

In Lydgate's conjunctive system two words, « as » and especially « pat », play a conspicuous part : they are joined to adverbs and prepositions when used as conjunctions, and sometimes also to well-established conjunctions ; though these affixes may be considered on the whole as giving more binding power to the word with which they form a compound, their use is in fact very lax and we commonly find the compound and the simple form of a conjunction close by one another and strictly equivalent. Having thus roughly sketched the chief characteristics of these curious affixes, we can proceed to particulars.

a) « pat » as conjunctive affix.

Let us take the word « when » ; as a conjunction it occurs under two forms in our poem : « whan pat » (or « when pat ») and « whan » (or « when »<sup>1</sup>).

*whan þat* : 4, 38, 61, 85, 166, 314, 421, 660, etc.

« *Whan þat* hir list his harmes to redresse » 314

*whan* : 6, 116, 119, 395, 397, 612, etc.

« *And whan* þe goddes þis lesson hade him told » 932;

1. There is no relation between the forms in « e » or « a », and « pat » ; one might think it natural that the strong form with « pat » should be « whan », while the *weak* form without « that » should be degraded into « when » ; but the facts are against that supposition : « when » occurs *with* « pat », 85, 421, 1401 ; « whan » occurs *without* « pat », 395, 397, 1356 (It is generally agreed that when < hwænne and whan < hwanne).

neither of these two forms is more frequent than the other, nor can it be said that there is any difference in value between both: the use of one or the other seems very often to serve none but metrical purposes; in the following passage we have « *whan pat* » and « *when* » in two strictly similar cases:

« To bed I went nov *pis opir nyȝt*  
*Whan þat* Lucina wip hir pale lyst  
 Was Ioyned last wip Phebus in aquarie,  
 Amyd decembre, *when* of Ianuarie  
 Ther be Kalendes..... »

7.

What difference is there between:

« *Whan pat* she saugh *pat* ded she most[e] be » 61

(S. P. Pr omit « *pat* »)

and « *When* she dide fle » 116? (Pr = « *whan pat* »).

And notice that the variants exhibit all through, not only with « *whan pat* » but with all the other compound conjunctions which are mentioned further down, the same inconsistency which has just been apparent; the prints especially now add « *pat* » when it is not in the early MSS (612), now omit it when it is (38, 85, 421): it stands out clearly, moreover, that the revisers struck off or introduced this « *pat* » simply in order to prop up the metre which, poor as it was originally, had been further mangled by phonetic changes: it is necessary to remark that the revisers did not always succeed; but this alone would suffice to show with what freedom and laxity the compound and simple forms were used, thereby justifying our title « *Free Conjunctional affixes* ».

All that has been said of « *when* » applies equally well to « *how* »; we have:

*hou* 72, 74, 90, etc.: « *hou* she lost hir life » 72

*hou þat* 63, 80, 82, 92, 117, etc.: « *Hou þat* she was falsed of Iason » 63

only « *hou pat* » is more frequent.

We need not quote but only give the references for:

« *þouȝ* » 939 and « *þouȝ þat* » 443, 893 — « *lest* » 101 and « *lest þat* » 165 — « *til* » 1086 and « *til þat* » 239 — « *while* »

472, 732, 779 and « *while(s) þat* » 172, 217, 738 — « *if* » 554 and « *if þat* » 762 — « *siþ(en)* » 447, 735 and « *siþ þat* » 423, 736; « *for* » in its conjunctive meaning of « *because* », very common in ME., occurs as « *for* » 68, *Res. and S.* 5636 and as « *for þat* » 384, 408 indifferently<sup>1</sup>:

« *Penalope* » « *For she so long hir lord ne myt[e] se  
Ful oft[e] wex of colour pale and grene* » 69  
« *Penalope gan eke for sorowis dul  
For þat [her] lord abode so long at Troie* » 408.

Sometimes, however, « *pat* » performs indispensable work: with « *there* » for instance, which cannot become a conjunction in Lydgate without its help: « *þere þat* I have hoolly set my cure » 630 (see § 16).

We must now inquire into the previous history of this affix: first, Chaucer uses it as much as Lydgate, and it is a stop-gap with him as well as with Lydgate. Take « *how* », for instance: we find in Chaucer

« *And how he fledde, and how that he  
Escaped was...* » HF 167.

There are many such passages, in which « *pat* » is brought in only for the sake of the metre; if we go further back into M. E. we find that « *pat* » as a conj. affix grows scarce: in the *Ancren Riwe* we find « *hwan pat* » (Morris 9/192); in the *Ormulum* « *poh patt* » (M. 5/975) and earlier « *þeh þe* » (M. 4c/42); this leads us to A.S. « *pēah pe* » which is an instance of « *pe* » as a conjunctive affix; and even then, it is already a *free* affix; for « *pēah* » also, is commonly found as a conjunction.

We see therefore that, from the first, we have at least one instance of a conjunction, « *pe* », being optionally joined to a conjunction, which may also without any affix be used as such; the reason of this is no doubt to be found in an occasional wish to increase the conjunction's binding power; and, this wish grow-

1. Another fact should be taken into account in connection with « *for þat* »; this we have to consider partly as formed according to the sketch just given, and partly also as influenced by the A. S. conj. « *for pæm pe* »: we duly have in e. ME the transition form « *for þat pe* » (Morris. 4 c/21)

ing more frequent, the compound formation spread to adverbs and to prepositions (« til pat » *Har. the Dane* 369), at the same time as « pat » supplanted « pe ».

But the extreme extension of this affix in Chaucer and Lydgate is no doubt due to its handiness in poetry: it may come in at will and give the line one syllable more; the poets could not fail to avail themselves of this easy, unobjectionable stop-gap.

There must have been nevertheless a great deal of vitality in these compound conjunctions since they are still very common in Shakspeare: When that, if that, though that, lest that etc (See Abbott § 287); some of them have even lingered on much longer in didactic and oratorical language, but they are now quite banished from the spoken speech at least.

b) « as » conjunctive affix.

There is, besides « pat », another conjunctive affix, but much less frequent: « as ».

In Lydgate the preposition « lich » often means « according to »:

« And *lich* my trouþ nov on my peyn[e] rwe » 798;

if we want to form the corresponding conjunction we use the affix « as »: « lich as »;

« Nou blisful goddes, doun fro pi sterri sete  
Vs to fortune, caste þour stremes shene  
*Like as* þe cnow pat we trouþe mene » 1102;

« lich as » occurs again in lines 46, 784, 813, 850, 1030, 1102, 1123

Similarly the adverb « where » is made into a conjunction « where as »:

« Go now to her *where as* she stant aside » 890 (b omits « as »).

The case of the adverb « so » is more curious: « swā » alone could be used as a conjunction in A.S. and even in M. E. as late as 1205: « þe King andswarede swa Hengest hit wolde » (Laz.'s *Brut* A 14087); but we also have a proper conjunctive form: « alswa », « also », « as » which begins at the dawn of ME (Morris *Specimens*, p. 2, l. 21); and this is not all, for Chaucer and Lydgate in whose works « as » is the common conjunction corres-

ponding to « so », use moreover another conjunction, exactly identical in meaning<sup>1</sup>, and formed by joining the affix « as » to the adverb « so »: « so as »:

« Aboute me *so as* I gan behold » 933 [CWW<sub>2</sub> w = so; b = as]  
 « *So as* it comeþ to my remembraunce » 1391 [Pr<sub>1</sub> = as];

« so as » is frequent in Lydgate: 53, 818, 1080, 1378 etc; of course it did not last long and we see the prints generally going back to the simpler « as ».

« as », conjunctive affix, is still found in Shakspeare, but in different compounds: « when as », « while as » and also « where as » which we have seen in Lydgate (cf. Abbott § 289). Nowadays this affix only occurs in « whereas » which is no longer used in a locative, but always in a metaphorical sense.

#### § 16. — THERE AND WHERE.

We must now give some account of particular conjunctions which afford special interest, beginning with the passage from « there » to « where » in conjunctive use.

In Chaucer « *ther* » is the regular conjunction: « lengest abiden *Ther* peril was » *Tr* I 475; *ther as* rarely occurs: « *Ther* is no priuete *ther as* regnep dronkenes » B 2384, « *ther that* » still more rarely (F 267); as to « *wher* », most commonly « *wher as* », both are limited to relative use after nouns, thus: « She gooth... to *every place wher* she has supposed... hir litel child to finde » B 1786; *wher as*: *Tr* III 516.

In Lydgate « *per* » as conjunction is abandoned; it is supplanted by various makeshifts, some of which we have already seen in Chaucer: « *pere pat* » occurs in our text:

« *pere pat* I have hoolly set my cure » 630 (F. B. b = as).

« *pere where* » is a more interesting compromise, because it is almost like the compound conjunctions above studied, « where »

1. A striking proof that they are equivalent is the following passage which Isum up, keeping the important words unaltered: « *As* the sonne » outshines the stars, « and *so as* May » is the fairest of all months « and *as pe* rubie bryt » is the finest of all stones « *riȝt so* » this lady is the most beautiful of all women. (264)

being the affix: a man loves « *þere where* he shal haue no grace » 229. At last, « where », which we have found in very circumscribed functions in Chaucer, rises thence to the rank of general conjunction but not alone yet: it is always accompanied by the affix « as »:

« Go now to hir, *where* as she stant aside » 890  
[L w. b omit « as »].

But the variants show that as early as Wynken de Worde's second edition, a few years after 1500, the affix was suppressed; at that time therefore did « where » become the regular conjunction corresponding to « there »: it has been so ever since, but the old affix occasionally clings to it as late as Shakspeare:

« Unto S<sup>t</sup> Albans

*Whereas* the king and queen do mean to hawk » (Cf. Abbott § 289).

#### § 17. — « SO ..... AS » IN COMPARISONS.

Such is the usual construction for our author: The temple « shone, me pouȝt, *so* clere *As* eny cristal » 22 [G = *as* clere, Sh = *als* clere].

We find the same in Chaucer: « so swift as thought » *HF.* 1924; sometimes too we find « al-so » for the first conjunction:

« And *al-so*. grene *as* any leke » (*Ro. the R.* 212)

which points to the impending sovereignty of « as » for the first as well as for the second conjunction; that « as » had already supplanted « so » in certain cases as early as 1430, is shown by our variant in G = « as clere as »; however, the old « so » is met with now and then, even in Shakspeare: « Look I *so* pale *as* the rest » (See Abbott § 275); notice that the prints accordingly give us no variants.

On the whole, from AS. « swā ... swā », ME « so ... so » (Morris 16/334) to « so ... also » and to « al-so ... as », « as ... as », the key to the development is the fact that a natural desire for emphasis on the comparison was constantly baffled by the weakening words which come at last to be unable to bear the weight of



sense laid on them ; and this had twice to be counteracted by joining « all » to the second, and then to the first conjunction.

§ 18. — « So » WITHOUT « THAT ».

This is a common occurrence in Lydgate, though our text supplies but one instance :

« Thei be so diuers pei would do me varie » 638  
(See *Reson and S.* 4368).

The same ellipsis of « that » is often very strongly felt in Chaucer : The House of Fame « stood upon so high a roche

Hyer stant per noon in Spaine » 1117.

Compare *Romaunt of the Rose* 213 :

« So yvel hewed was hir colour  
Hir semed have lived in langour » | « Qu'el semblait etre elangeree ».

The habit of omitting « that » in such construction may have its origin in French ; it is well known in *Roland* :

« Seisante milie en i cornent si halt  
Sunent li munt e respudent li val » 2112.

For further illustration see Etienne 412, b).

§ 19. — ELLIPTICAL USE OF « AS » WITH CERTAIN ADVERBS.

With « fast[e] », « swythe » « blyve » and a few other adverbs « as » is used in elliptical stock-phrases :

« I fond a wicket and entrid in *as fast* » 39.

Here, as in all similar cases, one must supply « as fast as the preceding action was over » : I found a wicket and I entered as soon as I had found it <sup>1</sup>. « As faste » occurs again in *R. and S.* 5702 : « I wexe astonyed in partye ... Touchyng the pereyl of the

1. Schick in note to l. 39 calls « as » in such expressions a « pleonastic prefix » ; pleonastic it is emphatically not ; in fact, just the reverse ; but Schick puts « as po » « as now » « as here » in the same category. See § 20.

welle (of Narcissus) ... But gan assure me *as faste* » ; Chaucer seems very fond of it : *Tr* II 898, 1358, *G* 1235, etc., etc.

« *As swythe* » and « *as blyve* » equivalent in meaning to « *as faste* », are also common in Lydgate, but Chaucer is wonderfully partial to them (See Schick's list of references in note to l. 39). All these, together with « *as yerne* » *HF*. 910, seem to belong exclusively to the Chaucerian period ; I could not, at any rate, find them elsewhere.

§ 20. — PLEONASTIC USE OF « AS » WITH ADVERBS OF TIME.

« And with pat worde pe goddes shoke hir hede  
And was in peas and spake *as þo* no more » 525.

A very different phrase from those considered in § 19 ; it means properly « *as regards that time* » but is often used, by Chaucer especially, in preference to the simple adverb. ; and the reason of this is to be found in the fact that « *as po* » is a metrical whole, whereas « *po* » is not. The same applies to « *as here* » *C*. 103, etc., and « *as now* » of which Chaucer is immoderately fond ; it occurs in our text l. 956.

These expressions, « *as then* » in particular, lasted on for a very long time : they are found in Shakspeare and even in Milton (Abbott § 114).

§ 21. — « THAT » INTRODUCED FOR CONNECTION, INSTEAD OF REITERATING A CONJUNCTION.

« *Sif* 3e me hurten wip 3our dredful myst  
Bi influence of 3our bemys clere  
And *þat* I bie 3our seruise nov so dere » 719

or again :

« *As* euere þing is had more in deinte  
And more of price when it is dere bou3t,  
And eke *þat* loue stand more in surete  
When..... » 1260.

This may easily be considered as a result of « *pat* » being used

as a conjunctive affix : since a combination like « *sip pat* », for instance, is possible and even common, it is quite natural that, in order to introduce a second consecutive clause, only the affix « *pat* », which is the binding part of the compound, should be used. Notice that in French « *que* », also a conjunctive affix, is often made to perform identical functions ; in this case, however, a simple indigenous development is much more likely than a French origin. At any rate, this usage seems to have gained a firm footing in English : it occurs in the late xviii<sup>th</sup> century (Kellner § 448) and is not quite banished even now ; but it is felt to go against one of the tendencies of Mn E. Syntax viz., the desire to do without outward connection as frequently as possible : for this reason it probably will not live long.

§ 22. — « *THAT* » = « *SO THAT* ».

« *That* » is often used by Lydgate to introduce a clause indicating the result of an action :

« A man is woundid *þat* he most nedis deye » 232.

Here is another instance :

« Now in *pat* place where I toke first my wounde  
Of pite suffriþ my help mai be found,

(Stanza 47) *That*, lich as she me hurt[e] wiþ a siþte,  
Riþt so wiþ helpe let hir me sustene » 814.

Schick puts a dash after line 812, meaning thereby that there is a gap and that the passage « is not to be construed grammatically » ; if you construe « *That* = so that », the passage is all right <sup>1</sup>.

As this may be sometimes misleading I give one more quotation :

« For of þoure grace I am ful reconciled  
From euere trouble into loy and ease,  
*That* sorois al from me ben exiled... » 477.

1. One of Schick's dashes points to the same kind of misunderstanding in l. 1221.

The following very incomplete list of references is intended to give some idea of the extreme and often wearying frequency of this value of « pat » : 208, 232, 472, 477, 506, 536, 545, 579, 584, etc., etc. ; in some pages of *Reson and S.* one would have to give the number of every third or fourth line.

« That » is commonly so used in Chaucer, but not, of course with such endless monotony ; one quotation will be sufficient :

« And after that hir lokyng gan she lighte  
That never thoughte him seen so good a sighte » *TrI*294.

And all through ME we could pick up instances like the following : « te veond lauhwep *þæt* he to-herstep » (Morris 9/99). As to the origin of this construction with « that », we can choose between Anglo-Saxon and French descent: it is well known in A.S. ; here is a neat instance.

« Sende dā se sārinc sūperne gār  
*þæt* wundod wearp wīgena hlāford » *Batt. of Maldon* 135.

On the other hand « que » = « de telle façon que » is common in O. F. ; *Roland* abounds with illustrations and not a good blow but ends in a « que mort l'abat » :

« El' cors li met tute l'enseigne bloie  
Que mort l'abat lez une halte roche » 1579.

It is highly probable that French influence vivified the aboriginal idiom, which explains how it is even more frequent in l. ME than in A. S., and also how so special a point should keep so completely unaltered so long, for we find it a usual occurrence in Shakspeare (Abbott § 283) who can still say :

« But in these cases  
We still have judgment here : *that* we but teach  
Bloody instructions which being taught return  
To plague the inventor » *Macbeth*, I. 7, 8.

This by no means exhausts all that could be said on the conjunctions in our text ; it is a rich subject, but the other points which are connected with it have been thought too minute or desultory to be treated here.

## Summing up of Results:

The advent of « where as », and a century after of « where », as general conjunction corresponding to « there » is the only great change since Chaucer ; all the rest in common to him and to Lydgate.

Some attention should be paid to the numerous meanings and functions of « pat » in Lydgate and in l. ME. syntax generally :  
1 *pat* ordinary demonstrative ; 2 *pat* dem. with instrumental value in comp. constructions or elsewhere ; 3 *pat* = because ; 4 *pat* ordinary clause-conjunction ; 5 *pat* conjunctive affix ; 6 *pat* instead of reiterating a conjunction ; 7 *pat* meaning « so that ». And the chapter on Relatives will show how « pat » is by far the most frequent relative in Lydgate.

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## V. — PREPOSITIONS

I do not intend in this chapter to examine prepositions whose sole peculiarity is that they present forms now unknown, but with the same syntactical value as the corresponding modern forms ; such are, for instance, « to-fore » which is used throughout our poem and to which Shirley generally substitutes « by fore » and Berthelet « before ; or again « Atwixen » which becomes « betwix » in L. and P, and « betwene » in the prints.

We now turn to more strictly syntactical questions :

### § 23. — « BUT » WITH NEGATIVE.

In constructions where « but » is in close connection with a verb and has the meaning of « only », the verb is regularly in the negative in *Lydgate* : they « *cannot but complein* » 203 ; or the following passage from *Reson and S.* ; I am Nature's chambermaid, says Venus and

« I take recorde of thise clerkys,  
That the forge of al hir werkys,  
Without[e] me, in certeyn,  
Was *nat* maked *but* in veyn. » 2286.

Such also is the construction in Chaucer : « I *n'axe* in guerdon *but* a bone » *Tr* V 594 ; « That I see yond *nis but* a fare-cart » *Tr* VI 162 etc etc. And this indeed is the logical construction, for « but » is in fact « be-utan », without, except ; and « the forge was not made except in vain » is a perfectly logical expression of the idea that « the forge was made only in vain », whereas our modern construction « it was made but in vain », the result of the disappearance of the negation, is not logical and cannot be explained otherwise than historically. This modern construction already appears once in Chaucer, « Then saw I but a large feld »

*HF.* 482 ; the older one seems to underlie certain turns in Shakspeare (Abbott § 127) but there is no decisive instance.

« FOR ».

In A. S. « for » has two general meanings, both of which are derived from the primitive one « in front » ; they are, « on account of » and « with a view to ». The one point of interest connected with the latter in I. M. E. is « forto » with the infinitive (See under Infinitive) ; what we have to say now concerns only the former.

§ 24. — « FOR » IN ITS ORIGINAL MEANING : « ON ACCOUNT OF ».

The use of « for » in this sense was still very extensive in I M. E. and in many a case modern Syntax has substituted « because of » or other expressions.

« ... I ne myȝt noping, as I would  
 Abouten me considre and bihold  
 The wondre estres, *for* briȝtnes of þe sonne » 29

or again :

(so) « That *for* þe prese, shortli to conclude,  
 I went my wai *for* þe multitude » 546 ;

« The author had to leave the temple *because of* the great press and multitude of folk ». Sometimes there are interesting variants :

« ... som were hindred *for* conetise and slouth  
 And some also *for* her hastines  
 And oper eke *for* hir reklesnes » 246.

Shirley has « poroughe » and the prints « by », which shows that the range of « for » with this value was already narrowing ; that it was still wider in Shakspeare than at present is apparent from Abbott § 150.

§ 25. — « FOR » IN ITS ACQUIRED SENSE : « IN SPITE OF ».

« So was he hurt, for al his deite » 124

The « al » after « for » is occasional ; it is found only when « for »

is not immediately before the noun : it occurs here and in l. 59 because a possessive adj. intervenes. But see the following passage : « I command you », Venus says to the lady,

« for wele or *for* wo,  
For ioy, turment or *for* aduersite,  
Wherso pat fortune fauour or be foo,  
*For* pouert, riches, or prosperite,  
That 3e youre hert kepe in oo degre. » 521.

This, psychologically analysed, comes to be : « I command you to be faithful either *because of* « wele » « ioy » and « riches », or *in spite of* « wo », « turment » and « pouert » : the preposition « for » expresses alternately « because of » and « in spite of », and sometimes the same « for » contains both ; which is very natural, for I hope to make it clear by and by, that these two apparently opposite meanings are at bottom one and the same. Such use of « for » is common in Lydgate and well-known in Chaucer :

« This mayde shal be myn *for* any man » C 129

But it becomes extremely rare earlier than the xiv<sup>th</sup> century : it seems altogether absent from A. S.

I have now to explain how it came into existence : it seems to me to be undoubtedly a fortuitous derivation from the general sense « on account of ». Let us take, for instance, our quotation from Chaucer, in which « for » = in spite of, and let us give it a negative turn, thus : « This maid *shall not* escape me *for* any man » ; we see at once that, by simply making the sentence into a negative one, « for » resumes its usual value : « on account of ». The same experiment can be tried with identical results in any case ; let it be performed on the second quotation from Lydgate (at the top of this page) : the « for »s which have their usual meaning will retain it and the others will resume it : « *Never* be unfaithful *for* joy or *for* woe, *for* poverty or wealth etc. » Therefore, nothing but a change from the negative to the positive was necessary ; and the context, as it were, forced a new value upon « for ». As « Be not unfaithful » is psychologically equivalent to « Be faithful », the change was not unlikely to take place : the



facts show that it did. Moreover it is finely illustrated in a line out of our own poem : I command you, says Venus to the lady again

« To loue him best *for no þing* pat ȝe feine. » 522.

In this line « for » = « in spite of »; let us put it in the negative : « not to cease to love him for no þing pat ȝe feine », where « for » has its usual meaning : but, that the construction is in psychological reality a negative one even in Lydgate, is evident from « no þing ». We should now say : « for *any* þing you pretend » because the construction is now looked upon as absolutely positive.

I hope all this has made it clear that « for » = « in spite of » is due to a mere psychological inversion of the context. And so, from the XIV<sup>th</sup> century, when this psychological process seems to have begun, « for » was commonly used with the resulting value.

#### § 26. — « IN » AND « INTO ».

« In » is often used where modern Syntax requires « into » :

« I shal encense casten *in* pe fire » 474 (G, and Pr = in to)

« me þouȝte pat I was

Rauysshid in spirit *in* a Temple of glas » 16 (S, L, and Pr = into).

This is found in Chaucer : « Be war therfor er thou come *in* that prikke » B 119, and finds its origin in the fact that « in » meant « in » or « into » in A. S., according as the noun was in the accusative or dative : when the inflexions were confused and finally dropped, « in » could be used with both meanings indifferently, no outward distinction being appreciable. Our variants show that about the middle of the XV<sup>th</sup> century « into » (found in A. S. in-tō) began to be required ; however we still find in Shakspere « to enter *in* the castle » (Abbott § 139). There is yet another confusion connected with « into » : Lydgate uses « into » and « vnto » indifferently.

« Hov Philomele *into* a nystyngale

Iturnd was and Progne *vnto* a swallow » 99

In another passage three MSS insist on « vnto » :

« To chaunge hir bitter atones *into* soote » 458 (F, B, G = *vnto*).

Lastly it may be mentioned that the earliest MS : T (1400-1420) has « on » for « in » in « on no wise » 160 ; out of all subsequent MSS and prints only two, F and B, did not substitute « in ». So that the A. S. « on » = in, must have died out completely before the middle of the xv<sup>th</sup> century.

#### « OF ».

« Of » is among all the l. M. E. prepositions that which plays the most conspicuous part ; our poem affords instances of no less than five important and well-defined values of this preposition, leaving aside the many functions in which it expresses the various ordinary genitival relations.

#### § 27. — OF = FROM.

This, the original meaning of the preposition, is forcibly but not frequently illustrated : Lydgate hears Venus comforting the love-tormented lady and telling her that she should

« *Of* hir purgatorie  
Be holpen sone and so forþ lyue in glorie » 376.

Or again, the lover to his love :

« So pat I can no ping but merci crie  
*Of* ȝow my ladi » 999,

where « crie » = ask, beg, and consequently « of » = from.

In the chorus which all the lovers sing at the end of the poet's dream occurs the line :

« Honour to yow *of* all pat ben hereinne » 1353

in which « yow » referring to the Goddess, « of » can only mean « from ».

And these are all the instances to be found in our poem. They grow more and more frequent as one goes up the four centuries which separate our period from A. S., where they abound. But,

on the other hand, Shakspeare still has expressions like « Take of me my daughter » *M. Ado* II 1. 311.

§ 28. — « OF » INTRODUCING THE AGENT IN PASSIVE CONSTRUCTIONS

Psychologically there is but one step between the preceding use and that which the present title describes, for the action comes from, out of the agent :

« Hov she (Dido) deceyued was *of* Eneas » 58

« Hov pat she (Medec) was falsed *of* Iason » 63

« ... hou pat Mars was take

*Of* Vulcanus » 127.

Lydgate saw in the Temple poor lovers

« pat loued, sop to sein,

And *of* her ladi were not louyd again » 158.

This is not only frequent but almost the rule in Lydgate's Syntax <sup>1</sup>; also in Chaucer's (Cf. Einkenel, p. 162); here is a fine instance from the *Romaunt of the Rose*, in which, had we not the French original, we should be liable to mistake the sense :

« Onc nus ne fupar li laidis » | « Was never wight misseid *of* her » 1260.

Earlier and to the very dawning of M. E., « of » is the regular preposition for introducing the agent (Kellner § 435). But when we enter A. S., instances become comparatively rare and « from » is oftener met with (Kellner § 433), cf. Wülfing, *Alfred's Syntax* II, 441-2.

Therefore it would seem that « of » introducing the agent first grew into sovereignty at the beginning of M. E. times. Such a change is hardly to be explained by merely psychological causes which are always slower in their action than historical ones. Now, our construction was by no means unknown in O. F. with the preposition « de » :

« Ne placet Deu » ço li respunt Rollanz

« Que ço seit dit *de* nul hume vivant

Que pur païens seie-jo cornant ! »

1. See the following lines in *Reson and S.* : 1224, 1863, 1933.

We have therefore to consider our construction as a natural psychological development (« of » = out of, from) helped on and quickened to a considerable degree by French influence.

As to subsequent history, Kellner tells us that « in Caxton's time « of » still prevails » but that « in the xvi<sup>th</sup> century « by » comes rapidly to the fore ». We however read in Shakspeare: she « Shall be lamented, pitied, and excused *Of* every hearer » *M. Ado* IV 1, 119. So that « of » could still introduce the agent in the early xvii<sup>th</sup> century, as it does even now in certain set phrases like « It is known of every one ».

§ 29. — « OF » = THROUGH THE EFFECT OF, OUT OF.

Closely related to « from » is also this third value; its use is very terse and elegant:

Jove « List *of his godhode* his fourme to transmwe » 323

that is « out of his godhood, by means of his power as a god ».

..... « I, *of myn aduersite*,

Am bold som while merci to requere » 655,

« through the effect of, *prompted by*, my misery ».

« Til she *of pite* me take vnto hir cure » 770

« out of kindness ».

Venus tells the lover to go and make his moan to his lady, assuring him that she

« *Of womanhed* shal rwe opon pi pein » 931.

The reader notices the peculiar power and beauty of such expressions; Lydgate no doubt felt it and, as a consequence, alas! uses « of » in this sense over and over again most wearily: 447, 459, 475, 484, 490-708, 710, 799, 800, 801, 802, 931, 978, 979, 980, etc., etc.

I shall quote one instance more, because it is delightful:

When the lover has declared to the lady « his hidde sorowis and his euel fare », Lydgate tells us:

« Riȝt as þe fressh rodi rose nwe  
 Of hir colour to wexin she began ;  
 Hir blode astonyed so from hir herte ran  
 Into hir face, *of femynynite.* » 1045.

The same use of the preposition « of » is common in Chaucer (though, of course, it is not made into a monotonous burden as too often in Lydgate) :

« This fals Arcite, *of his new-fangelnesse*,  
 Took lesse deyntee for hir stedfastnesse, » VII 143,

and fell in love with another.

There are instances of a similar use of « of » in A. S. : « þonne » hē of yfelum willan ne gesyngaþ, ac of unwisdōme » (Sw's R. 3/112); on the other hand, it lasted till Shakspeare at least: compare

« She fel on kneis *of heiȝ deuocion* » 459

from our poem, with

« Comest thou hither by chance, or *of devotion* ? »  
 2 Hen VI II 1, 88

But now, all that we can do is to use our « out of » in some cases, and in most of them, to give the sentence an altogether different turn.

§ 30. — « OF » = FOR, ABOUT.

« ȝe must of riȝt nedis fare þe bet  
*Of* ȝour request » 1064.

This meaning is closely allied to the preceding one: if you are the better for something, it is, to a certain extent, *through the effect* of that thing.

« It is our duty » says the lady to her servant, « to be patient in love-trials »

« and not *of* oure disease [G = at, S. and b = for]  
 To grucch agein » 1086

« ȝe must of merci shape pat he fele  
 In ȝow som grace *of* his long seruise » 1122 (Pr = for).

The variants point to a speedy disappearance of this meaning of our preposition.

§ 31. — « OF » = AS REGARDS, IN.

This is quite a feature of our monk's language : « colours fressh *of hwe* » 48, « *of* colour pale and grene » 69, « goodly *of* visage » 56, « so passing *of* beaute » 270,

« ... Mai hap pe souereinte  
Of euere moneþ *of* fairnes and beaute » 256,

« humble *of* chere » 298, « ful femynyne *of* drede » 526 (= quite a woman as regards bashfulness),

« *Of* face and chere pe most gracious » 561

« so womanli *of* chere » 731; the poet speaks of Venus' « brond » « pat is so clere *of* liste » 838; he says that the lady was « *of* daliaunce The beste taust » 292 (= The best taught as regards fair speaking); Venus, bidding the lover be hopeful, says « Be goode *of* trust » 906; the lady complains that she is

« *of* wille and dede Ilaced in a chaine » 355

and her servant promises

« *Of* wil and poust to ben at hir desire » 777.

Sometimes, « of », so used, occurs with a possessive adjective intervening:

« *Of* hir colour to wexin she bigan » 1043

« Be curteis ay and lowli *of* pi spech » 1166

« .... goodli *of* hir face » 1402.

This long list of quotations has made it apparent how far Lydgate goes in the use of this idiom, and that « of » with him can mean absolutely and in all cases « as regards », « concerning ». This seems, moreover, to be one of his pet turns of speech and it is of highly frequent occurrence.

By no means rare either is this idiom in Chaucer (Einenkel p. 171)

« For ther was never yet man on lyve

That herde of swich another (falcon) *of* fairnesse » F 425.

But it seems to be almost unknown in ME earlier than the xiv<sup>th</sup> century, or at any rate very rare. A. S. however is not ignorant of an exactly similar construction with the genitive: « mægenes strengest » *Bēow.* 196, Lydgate would say « of myȝt þe strengest »; or again in *Bēowulf* « wes þū ūs lārena gōd » 269 = « Be goode of þi rede ».

Such is therefore the history of our construction: known in A. S. with the genitive; not easily found and perhaps unknown in e. M. E.; frequent and freely used in the xiv<sup>th</sup> and xv<sup>th</sup> centuries. It is clear from even this bare statement that an exterior influence must have come into play, to bring about the xiv<sup>th</sup> century revival; this influence is the French: a similar construction with « de » is found as early as the xiii<sup>th</sup> century (See Etienne, p. 154-5); it occurs in the *Roman de la Rose* and is translated by « of » in the English version. I prefer to quote, from the much rarer text *Les Echecs Amoureux*, the French original of Lydgate's *Reson and Sensuallyte*, a few relevant lines:

« Artu	« the kyng Arthour,
Le noble Roy qui <i>de</i> vertu	The noble worthy conquerour,
	Whom honour lyst so magnyfyē
<i>De</i> courtoisie et <i>de</i> largesse	For <i>of</i> fredom and curtesye,
<i>Donneur</i> et <i>de</i> toute noblesce	<i>Of</i> bounte and <i>of</i> largesse,
	<i>Of</i> manhode and <i>of</i> high prowesse,
	To remembre all[e] thinges,
« Passa tous les Roys en son temps »	Hepassyde al other kynges » 3148.

It seems therefore that the construction which had already found a synthetic utterance in A. S. and had been latent in men's minds, as it were, during the first half of the M. E. times, was kindled into vigorous life again under an analytic form with the preposition « of », by the influence of French.

1. Quoted on p. 29 of « *Les Echecs Amoureux* eine a. frz. Nachahmung des *Rosen romans*..... » Ernst Sieper — Litt. Forsch. herausg. von J. Schick, IX Heft, Weimar, 1898.

Its maximum of life-intensity which was attained in the xv<sup>th</sup> century, lasted on with but little weakening till the xvii<sup>th</sup> century, for Spenser can still write: « But *of* his cheere (he) did seem too solemn-sad » and Bacon « Roses are fast flowers *of* *their* smells » and Shakspeare « thin of substance » (Abbott, § 173). Ever since it has been decreasing and only a few stock-phrases like « swift of foot » « quick of understanding » are of usual occurrence nowadays<sup>1</sup>.

We now have seen « of » in those of its meanings which are most characteristic of l. M. E. ; it is necessary now to touch, however briefly, on some of the functions of our preposition in which it denotes the ordinary genitival relations common to all the periods of English.

### § 32. — « OF » TO DENOTE THE QUALIFYING GENITIVE.

This qualifying genitive is found all through the development of English Syntax (Kellner, § 166). I therefore need not insist upon it, but only mean to mention one or two peculiarities which are special to l. M. E.

a) the qualifying genitive has a very wide range ; we could hardly say now

« *Of oon affection*  
Thei shal endure » 1325.

b) « Of » with a noun, forming a qualifying genitive, is sometimes used as a mere adjective :

« As euere ping is had more in deinte  
And *more of pris* when it is dere bouȝt » 1258.

On the authority of such an expression as « a ping of pris », Lydgate says « a ping more of pris », considering « of pris » as an adjective and using it in the comparative. This also occurs in Chaucer: « many a man *more of auctorite* Than ever Catoun was » B 4165 ; but it is especially frequent in the late xv<sup>th</sup> century :

1. It is worth mentioning that the preposition « in » which often stands instead of M. E. « of » in Mn E. with the meaning of « as regards », is already found with the same value in Lydgate : 254, 257, 260.



Malory writes « She is the fairest lady and *most of beauteie* in the world » (quoted in Kellner, § 166)

§ 33. — « OF » AND PERSONAL PRONOUN TO DENOTE THE POSSESSIVE GENITIVE.

In Lydgate « of + pers. pron. » is used in cases when Mn. Syntax would require the possessive pronoun :

« And perefore *of ȝow t[w]oo*  
Shal loue be more » 1256

meaning « *your* love for each other ».

After the lady has kissed her servant in the presence of Venus, every lover in the Temple « Gan Venus pray

That hool *of hem* pe loue may perseuere » 1317;

a modern reader would readily understand : « pe loue of hem » = « the love which other people have for them » giving to « of » the value of an Objective Genitive (Kellner, § 164), whereas the true meaning is again « their love ».

Or again :

« *The loue of hem*, bi grace and eke fortune  
Wip-oute chaunge shal ever in oon contune » 1333.

These are curious instances, but their strangeness abates considerably when one considers that the possessive pronouns themselves are only the genitival forms of the personal pronouns. Kellner and Mätzner show that there are scattered illustrations of this use all through ME and even later (Kellner, § 301).

§ 34. — « OF » ENCROACHED UPON BY « TO » IN CERTAIN GENITIVAL RELATIONS.

This is specially frequent with the « gen. of birth and relation » (See Kellner, § 159).

One variant shows that « to » was sometimes insisted upon :

Venus « modir of Cupide » ; G and S have « *to Cupid* »

« To » or « vnto » is also found to denote possession :

We are told of the « gardyne of Déduit » that

« ... hyt is the playing place

*Vn-to the myghty god Cupide » Reson and S. 2569<sup>1</sup>.*

### § 35. — « *puruȝ* »:

This preposition « *puruȝ* » (sometimes spelt « *purugh* » in our text) is applied by Lydgate to all kinds of causal relation :

a) it indicates the cause

« And *puruȝ* myn excesse thoȝe I sweltre and swete » 358

(Pr = « by excesse though I ... » an evident misunderstanding)

« ... pese leues þe which mai not die

*puruȝ* no dures<sup>2</sup> of s tormes þat be kene » 515 (Pr = « By »)

« *puruȝ* heiȝ confort of hem þat were present

Anone was gon[n]e with a melodius sowne

A ballad nwe » 1336.

The ballad was sung, *because* the lovers in the temple were in high glee.

b) the instrument.

« O Venus, lady dear! » says the ballad « Willi<sup>3</sup> planet, O Esperus  
[so briȝt

O myȝti goddes, daister after nyȝt

To voide derknes *puruȝ* freshnes of ȝour siȝt » 1357

(Pr = « by »)

c) the means

« That no wiȝt shal, *purugh* euil compassing

Demene amys of hir in no degre » 872 (Pr = « by »)

« Whan, *puruȝ* ȝoure grace, ȝe take him to be ȝoures » 1217

(Pr = « by »)

« *puruȝ* oure myȝt and grace » 867 (Pr = « by »);

« *puruȝ* ȝour grace and myȝt » 1350 (Pr = « by »).

1. It is perhaps as well to mention here in a note, at the end of what there is to be said on « of », a few facts which do not fall strictly within the scope of my subject: such genitival remnants are found in our text as: « no maner spice » 451, « no maner wise » 1013; « aldernext » 70; « for pi ladi sake » 1160.

2. « duress ». — 3. « wilful ».

« Your lover shall never be unfaithful to you », Venus says to the lady

« Thou<sup>5</sup> pat him list *þuru<sup>5</sup>* vnstidfastnes » 443  
(Pr. = « by »).

Though we find in Chaucer such instances as

« Some drope of pitee *thurgh* thy gentillesse  
Up-on us wrecched wommen lat thou falle » A 921,

it does not seem that he allows « *thurgh* » so wide a range as Lydgate does. However that may be, the latter's use of this preposition is quite in accordance with the general history of AS. « *purh* », which had at first the whole extent of causal relations to itself, since « be » was chiefly local in meaning; but « be » gradually acquired causal value; our variants show it coming forward considerably between Lydgate's and Caxton's time, everywhere ousting « *puru<sup>5</sup>* »; during the xv<sup>th</sup> century therefore it was, that the conflict took place, from which « through » never recovered, and to which « by » owes its supremacy as causal preposition in Mn. E.

### § 36. — « *Wip* » INTRODUCING THE AGENT IN PASSIVE CONSTRUCTIONS.

We have already seen how « of » was frequently used to introduce the agent in passive constructions; « with » is not unfrequently found in the same function without any difference in value.

« For *wip* a loke, forth-bi as he dop pace  
A man is woundid » 232 (B = by)

« For *wip* pe stremes of hir eyen clere  
I am Iwoundid even to pe hert » 583

(W<sub>2</sub>, w, b = « within the stremes »; an evident misunderstanding).

The unhappy lover compares himself to a ship

« Fordriue in dirknes *with* many a sondry wawe » 609  
(Pr = of)

Further on in the same complaint he tells how a battle is waged between « hope » and « drede » for the mastery of his heart:

hope, he says, bids me be bold and represents to me that since all virtues are « portreid » in her face, « it were not sitting » that mercy should be left behind; and « rist anon within myself I find :

Anwe ple<sup>1</sup> broust on me *with drede* » 681 (L = by).

In this line « drede » is almost, if not quite a personification : the « Dangier » of the French Romances (see « daunger » l. 652), and « with » means « by », as shown besides by the variant.

« With » introducing the agent is also found in Chaucer :

« .... a cloud is put *with* wind to flighte » *Tr* II 766.

Here is a fine illustration from the early xiv<sup>th</sup> century : « He was slayn *wip* Hercules » (R. of Brunne, *Chron.* I, 12, 340; quoted by Abbott). Kellner finds instances as early as the *Ancren Riwele*, with « mid ». But neither « mid » nor « wip » have any such functions in A. S. : « wip » introducing the agent is of purely M. E. formation; it is a psychological development from the secondary meaning « near » : from « near » « together », to « by », the step is a natural one, if not strictly justifiable from a logical point of view.

As to the history of « with » after Lydgate, its general tendency is this : « with » is gradually restricted to the expression of the means (in contradistinction to the agent). Our variants show that there soon was some uncertainty about « with » : two late MSS. (L and B are both between 1460-1480) substitute « by », the prints « of » (See § 28), and the later prints misunderstand once. When on the other hand « with » expresses the means in our text (« Phebus *with an arow* of gold I woundid was » 113) it is left undisturbed. However, it can still introduce the agent in Shakspeare :

« He was torn to pieces with a bear » *W. T.* v 266 (Abbott, § 193).

## § 27. — « BY » INTRODUCING THE AGENT IN PASSIVE CONSTRUCTIONS.

This is the third preposition we meet with in this function ;

1. = plea.

« by » is found once or twice in A. S., very occasionally in e. M. E., perhaps only once in Chaucer :

« This child Maurice was sithen emperour  
Maad *by* the pope » B. 1122;

it occurs in one isolated instance in our text :

« til þei *bi* Theseus  
Acordid were, as Chaucer tellip us » 110.

« By »'s title to the function is very poor : it is based on a psychological development similar to that of « wip », from the idea of nearness to that of causality : a questionable inference. Indeed, « of », which means « from, out of », is far better suited logically to introduce the agent than either of the two other prepositions ; it was accordingly predominant all through M. E. times. In Lydgate, « with » is seen to rise, while « by » hardly appears. But the triumphant career of the latter was soon to begin : two MSS. which were both written about 1470 (B and L) substitute « by » to « with » in two cases (l. 230, l. 681). This is significant, and we know that accordingly « by » is fast becoming the rule in the early xvi<sup>th</sup> century (Kellner, § 433 e) ; « of », the excellent « of », was gradually rejected, probably because it was a pluralist and had already but too many offices ; « with » was very judiciously chosen to express the means exclusively ; and so, from the xvii<sup>th</sup> century to the present day, the agent is always trusted to « by », to the logically very objectionable « by ».

Summing up of Results :

Lydgate's prepositional system is the same as Chaucer's : each set of instances illustrating each special point has been matched with a quotation from the great « Maister » ; all that can be said to the contrary is that perhaps « puruȝ » is used more promiscuously in Lydgate, and that « with » introducing the agent seems to have experienced a distinct rise.

It is very noteworthy on the other hand that almost every construction and value of the prepositions which we have studied, begins to decrease and grows less common during the xvi<sup>th</sup> century, lingers on till Shakspeare and dies with him.

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## VI. — PERSONAL PRONOUNS

Their form is as in Chaucer : the nominative plural of the 3<sup>d</sup> person is the only Scandinavian form : « *pei* » ; « *hem* » for the dative and accusative and « *her* » for the genitive (possessive) being used throughout ; the distinction between « *þow* » and « *þe* » is observed every where.

### § 38. — OMISSION OF THE PERSONAL PRONOUNS.

It is well-known that this omission is supposed on the authority of the Gothic to have been the rule early in the development of all Teutonic languages ; it is still common in spite of a less perfect system of personal endings in A S, and hardly less frequent in M. E.

In Lydgate, though the personal inflections are but few and unsteady, many cases of omission occur :

Pronouns are often dispensed with in the second of two co-ordinate sentences (Cf Kellner, § 271), but the subject need not be the same :

« I herd him make a lamentacioun  
And *seid* : « Alias ! what þing mai þis be »... » 567

= and he said ; the pronoun is to be derived from « *him* » of the preceding line.

Sometimes the interval is much greater :

« And riȝt anon me þous[te] pat I say  
This woful man, as I haue memorie  
Ful lowli entre into an oratorie,  
And *knelid* [a]doun in ful humble wise  
Tofore þe goddes, and *gan* anon deuyse... » 698.

These instances are striking and seem strange to a modern

mind, but we should notice that they both present such phrases as « I saw him », in which the idea of the object is predominant : « him » therefore can be felt to head and lead the whole sequence. In the following case the same kind of predominance is given to the word (the indirect object) from which the missing pronoun is to be supplied, by an adverb « hoolly » :

« For in 3ow hoolli lip help of al pis case  
And *knowe* best my sorow and al my peyne » 723

= « and *you* best know... »<sup>1</sup>.

The following startling omission is to a certain degree accounted for by the marked ending of the second person singular ; moreover the subject is common :

« O god of loue, hov sharp is nov pin arowe !  
Hou maist pou nov so cruelli and narowe,  
With-oute cause, hurt[e] me and wound  
And *tast*<sup>2</sup> non hede my soris forto sound ! » 602.

There is neither emphasis nor marked personal inflection in the following instance :

« .... pe stremes of hir eyzen briȝt  
Whilom myn hert, with woundis sharp and kene  
Thuruȝ perced have, and ȝit *bene* fressh and grene » 817,

which means that the wounds are still « fressh and grene » ; of this there can be no doubt since « fressh and grene » are epithets commonly applied by Lydgate to smarting love-wounds (see l. 617). G. and S. nevertheless preferred « *that* yet bene fressh and grene » which is more according to modern Syntax.

I shall give one more quotation in which the pronoun is to be supplied from a relative in the oblique case : « Now lady Venus » says the lover

« Fro whom my menyng is not nov secre  
But *witen* fulli pat myn entent is trwe... » 197.

1. *ë* (as here in *knowë*) is a common plural ending in Lydgate (Cf. Schick's Introduction p. LXXI).

2. *Tast* = takest.

Pronouns can also be omitted in subordinate sentences, but this is rarer :

« Now am I cauȝt vnder subieccioun  
 Forto become a verre homagere  
 To god o loue, where pat, er I com here  
*Felt* in myn hert riȝt nouȝt of loues peiné » 573.

All this shows that the liberty to omit personal pronouns went very far still in Lydgate's time ; indeed, the instances, if less frequent, are sometimes quite as striking as in A. S. Things were very much in the same position in Caxton's time as may be clearly seen from Kellner (§ 272, 3). Even Shakspeare allows himself somewhat frequent and bold omissions (Abbott, § 399-402) ; but I suspect this to be partly individual in his case. At any rate, omissions are very rarely met with in l. Mn. E., except such as are of a very tame character.

### § 39. — « pou » AND « ȝe ».

« ȝe » as plural of courtesy came in about the xiii<sup>th</sup> century : it struggled with increasing success against « the honest old pou » (Kellner, § 278).

Our text mostly consists in dialogues, or rather speeches, between three very courteous personages : Venus, The Lady and The Lover. The two mortals say « pou » to the Goddess in their prayers ; Venus, though she often addresses the knight as « pou », always uses « ȝe » in her comforting and moral discourse to the Lady, out of pure courtesy to the fair sex, it appears ; the lover, of course, says « ȝe » to the object of his reverential love ; and so she to him, as becomes a modest person and one who is « of daliaunce the beste tauȝt ».

All this shows that « ȝe » was already the only suitable pronoun in well-bred society ; but « pou » was customary in prayer, then as now ; it also agreed with the majesty of a Goddess in her condescending words to an ordinary male sinner.

### § 40. — MINGLING OF « pou » AND « ȝe ».

When « pou » is used, it is not strictly and consistently adhered -



to : the lady or lover to Venus, or Venus to the lover, often shift from « pou » to « 3e » in the same speech, nay, in the same sentence.

The Lady to Venus : « pi stremes » 326, « 3our grace » 333, « pi wil » 369 ;

« Ladi pat *maist* restore  
Hertes in loy from her aduersite,  
To do 3oure will de mieulx en mieulx magre <sup>1</sup> » 530 ;

« Now blisful goddes, doun from *phi* sterri sete  
Vs to fortune, caste 3our stremes shene » 1101.

The Lover to Venus : « Where *phou* hast chosen *phi* paleis and *phi* sete » 704, « 3our benignite » 708.

Venus to The Lover : « pou » 852, « pin help » 854, « 3our hole desire » 857, « pe » (thee) 859, « pou » 860, « pi smert » 861, « 3e » 865, « pe » 874, « Bepe » (Imp. 2<sup>nd</sup> pers. plural) 876, « pe » 883...

This speech of Venus is really an excellent instance of perfect indifference as to « pou » or « 3e » ; Berthelet was shocked at it : he substituted « ye » (once « you ») to « pou », « you » to « pe » and « your » to « pin » between line 852 and line 861, thus unifying these 9 lines in this respect ; but he was weary and went no further.

Such mingling of « pou » and « 3e » is by no means to be regarded as the result of any carelessness on Lydgate's part : it is met with early in the xiv<sup>th</sup> century (Kellner, § 278) and is common in Chaucer. That most precise and elegant speaker, dame Prudence, says to Melibeus, her husband : « Now sir, ... wol I teche *yow* how *ye* shal examine *your* conseil... Alderfirst, *thow* shalt considre... alle thise causes... And whan *ye* han examined *your* conseil as I have seyde, and which partie is the betre and more profitable, and *hast* approved it... » B 2400. In the majority of cases, as in all those given here, it would be utterly impossible to account for the change of pronoun by a corresponding change in the mental attitude of the speaker ; we have undoubtedly to deal with an indifferent mixture of pronouns.

This lasted much longer than M. E. ; it occurs in Shakspeare

1. = m'agrée.

and Dr Abbott need not puzzle himself so, to find out « some change of thought or some influence of euphony » which might explain why in *Hamlet* I, I, 41-49, the king passes from « you » to « thou », subsequently returning to « you », or why Artemidorus writes : « If *thou* beest not immortal, look about *you* » (*J. C.* II. 3, 8)<sup>1</sup>. Instances are found in Goldsmith and even as late as 1834 :<sup>2</sup>

« A willing pupil kneels to *thee*, and lays  
His title and his fortune at *your* feet »

Sheridan Knowles, *Hunchback* (quoted in Kellner, p. 176).

#### § 41. — PERSONAL PRONOUNS WITH THE IMPERATIVE.

In the 2<sup>nd</sup> person singular of the Imperative, Lydgate hardly ever uses « pou » in our poem : « Lat(e) » 1138, 1198, 1205 ; « haue » 1159 ; « come » 1214, « suffre » 1161, « guerdone » 1139, etc., etc. When he does, the pronoun is before the verb and not after, as generally happens :

« And al vertues biseli pou sue » 1180

« And first of al pou me recomavnd  
Vnto her.... » 1395 ;

a common inversion (see Kellner § 452), frequent in Chaucer :

« Apollo, through thy grete might  
This litel laste book thou gye ! » *HF* 1093.

In the 2<sup>nd</sup> pers. plural, the pronoun is not found and the verb always has flection « ep » : « disdeinep » 708, « Bep » 721, « shapep » 721, « suffrep » 812, « takep » 976, « vndirstondep » 859, « comep » 1272 etc. etc. It is very remarkable that in *all* these instances the prints have substituted the pronominal forms : « des-deyn ye », « Be ye » « shape ye » « suffre ye » etc. The unanimity of the variants is interesting ; it seems that about Caxton's

1. See Abbott « § 235 Thou. Apparent exceptions ».

2. The conclusion of this paragraph must not be taken to be that the using side by side of « thou » and « you » never has any literary value, but that such is not necessarily the case in all instances.

time, when the ending « ep » disappeared, some sort of sign was needed instead, and the pronominal forms, which were already optionally used in AS., « binde gē », came into request for a time.

§ 42. — PLEONASTIC PERSONAL PRONOUNS WITH PROPER NAMES.

This is somewhat different from the ordinary pleonastic use of pers. pron., since the name to which the pronoun is attached need not have been mentioned before: it appears accompanied in that way at its first introduction:

Lydgate is cataloguing the pictures which he found on the walls of the Temple of Glas; he gives a few lines to each of the « sondri louers » represented; after speaking of Tristram and Isaude he says that there was also to be seen

« .... hou pat Tesbie her hert[e] did[e] rife  
Wip pilk[e] swerd of *him Piramus* » 81.

No « Piramus » has been mentioned before. This pronoun was sadly misunderstood: G and S have « of hir Piramus », the prints « of syr Piramus ». Further on Lydgate saw how Jove

« The shap gan take of Amphitrioun  
For *hir Almen*, so passing of beaute » 123;  
(T, F, B, L = his Almen; Pr. omit « hir »)

and about the end,

« Ther was also pe poesie  
Of *him Mercurie* and Philologye » 130  
(S omits « him »).

The same pleonasm also occurs in the nominative: Chaucer is describing the great men in the House of Fame; he saw Stace, Achilles,

« And by him stood, withouten lees,  
Ful wonder hye on a pileer  
Of yren, *he the greet Omeer*;  
And with him Dares and Tytus  
Before, and eek *he Lollius* » H. F. 1468.

Hundreds of such instances could be given from Chaucer's works : he is evidently fond of this usage : B 940 ; E. 1368, 1373 etc etc...

I have never found the exact counterpart of this at an earlier date : pronouns occur pleonastically with proper names, it is true, in Ælfric, but then the name or the person has always been referred to previously (in this case it is easy to explain : « for him (or her) » as « of course you know whom I mean, So and so, whom we are talking about »). Our construction may be simply an exaggeration of this more rational pleonasm, and its extreme frequency in Chaucer finds an explanation in the fact that he loved the kind of bonhomie and gentle, half-humorous emphasis of which such phrases as « he Lollius » are so suggestive. As to Lydgate, he merely took the habit (without the bonhomie and humour) from his model. We can see from the variants that the prints and even some early MSS. are not at all acquainted with this Chaucerian idiom : it is accordingly not met with in subsequent authors<sup>1</sup>.

#### Summing up of Results :

Pers. pronouns boldly dispensed with, value of « pou » and « 3e » and the mingling of both, inflectional Imperative in preference to pronominal forms, as in Chaucer ; peculiar use of pleonastic pronoun copied from him.

1. The same use of the personal pronoun is frequent in Old Norse and in modern Norwegian : « Hann Audun lagdi..... » (Sweet's *Icelandic Primer* VII 6); « han Peer blev jer dyr » (*Peer Gynt*, Act. III sc. 2).

## VII. — IMPERSONAL VERBS

The study of Impersonal Verbs will by and by lead us into certain curious considerations on the general change from « ye » to « you » in the nominative, which was impending in Lydgate's time ; but we should first have some idea of the

§ 43. — CONFUSED STATE OF IMPERSONAL VERBS.

I ought to mention perhaps that I do not in the least mean to examine such Imp. Verbs as « it rains », « it thunders » which do not admit of any but impersonal conceptions, but only those which express personal ideas, like « him semed », « him roghte ». What marks out these verbs is the pers. pronoun in the oblique case which precedes them : and therein lies the source of the confusion.

These pronouns are regularly in the oblique case in Chaucer ; but things are quite unsettled in our text : the oblique case and the nominative are used quite indiscriminately with old Impersonal Verbs — « List » (in A. S « hine lyste », in Chaucer « him liste ») being by far the most frequent, will be studied as a basis. We find in Lydgate's poem :

pou list 852

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{he list } 924 \text{ (S = him)} \\ \text{him list } 443, 485 \text{ (In 443, C, W, W}_2, \text{w = himself (!); b = } he \\ \hspace{15em} [wolde] \end{array} \right.$$
$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{she list} \quad 826, 1086 \\ \text{hir list} \quad 314, 1400, 587, 1080, 1095 \text{ (with G, P, S, Pr variants} \\ \hspace{15em} \text{[of « she »])} \end{array} \right.$$

{	5e list	439, 447, 470, 478, 482, 868, 983, 997, 1000, 1130
		(frequent variant of S = you; occasional variant of C = you; in 997, T. F. B. S. = yow; in 439, G = 3ow)
{	3ou list	1028 (G P W W <sub>2</sub> w b = ye)

Other verbs afford nothing new :

« he rou3t » 239 (G & S = hym)

« hir likeþ » 1401 (P = she)

It is evident from even a cursory glance at the above table and at the variants that Impersonal verbs were going through a transition time, a time of utmost disarray. We could not even say on which side Lydgate leans, for, if « 5e list » is far more frequent than « 3ou list », on the other hand « hir list » is much more common than « she list ».

But how does the matter stand in Chaucer? As a rule the oblique case is adhered to with impersonal verbs; Chaucer's syntax is therefore in this respect very unlike Lydgate's.

However, let us go into the details of the question for one verb in particular, « List » (sometimes « lest » in Ch.). The regular construction is : « *me* list » D 360, F. 388, 3. 239, etc.; « *thee* list » 5. 114, L 480, L 332, etc.; « *him* lest » L 1703, etc.; « *you* list » L 449, II. 77, etc.; « *hem* list » IV 517, F 851, etc. This construction is always found when the pronoun is close before the noun; but when they must be severed, to retain the oblique case would involve many difficulties, and it is accordingly dropped :

« *Ye sustren nyne eek, that by Elicone*

*In hil Parnaso listen for to abyde* » *Tr* III 1810.

Again when a personal and an impersonal verb must be co-ordinate with a common subject, a similar complication would arise : it is avoided by using the nominative : « *she* dorste or *leste* » *Tr* III 452. When the word connected with an Imp. verb is not a pronoun but a substantive, « to » should be used before the latter :

« *As to myn auctor listeth for to endyte* » *Tr* II 700

but this would sometimes be awkward, and « to » is left out : « *the daunce of hem that Love list feblly for to avaunce* » *Tr* I.

518. Sometimes an Imp. verb must be used in relation with a relative pronoun and then we find « as he *that* list of no-thing recche » *Tr* I 797 or « who-so list » *A.* 3176. In all these cases the oblique case is given up, because it would hamper and spoil the sentence; and that is how the decay began. Such rare and special flinchings from the rule, gradually undermined the whole fabric of Impersonal Verbs, for, when it grew a common occurrence to see a noun, or a relative, or a pronoun far from the verb, in the nominative with Impersonal Verbs, the same license was extended to any pronoun in any position. And then things went very fast, since we see that the confusion was already at its height a few years after Chaucer's death!

§ 44. — THE DECAY OF IMPERSONAL VERBS AND THE CHANGE FROM  
« YE » TO « YOU » IN THE NOMINATIVE.

It has been said under « Personal Pronouns », that the distinction between « 3e » and « 3ow » was strictly kept in our text; accordingly therefore, when impersonal verbs like « list » are no longer felt as such but as personal, requiring not the oblique case, but the nominative, then « 3ow » is duly altered to « 3e » before these verbs, as « him » to « he », « me » to « I », etc. But *later on in the century* « 3e » was often supplanted in the nominative by « you »; then our old impersonal verbs resumed their « you », thus recovering their old outward form, with a wholly different syntactical structure, however; and this is to be studied in the variants:

Let us take, for instance, the following passage:

« Wherso 3e list to saue » 439

G and S change « 3e » into « 3ow »: « 3ow list to saue » — why? was it because they still looked upon « list » as an impersonal verb requiring the oblique case? — Or was it because they already considered « 3ow » as a nominative? The answer is difficult; if we look for information from other pronouns we find that G and S do restore « him list » for « he list » 924 and « hym rou3t » for « he rou3t » 939, but we find also that they alter « hir list » into « she list » 1080, 1095; so that we are « in a double

were », as Lydgate would say<sup>1</sup>. However, the change from « 3e list » to « 3ow list » in G and especially in S, is systematic : it occurs six times ; moreover there are contemporary instances of « 3ow » as nominative [in *Guy of Warwick*, 1440 (Kellner, § 212) ; G, 1430, S, 1450], so that it is possible to admit that « 3ow » is a nominative, and, consequently, « list », a personal verb in the G and S variants. Such disquisitions, though inconclusive, are not fruitless, because they depict well the disordered syntax of the time.

In the same line Caxton has « Wherso *you* list to save » ; now Caxton never restores an impersonal verb ; he on the contrary makes « hir list » into « she list » (587). As we know besides that Caxton frequently uses « you » for the nominative (Kellner, § 212), we may be sure that in the above variant « you list » is a personal verb in Caxton's mind.

It seems highly probable on the other hand that the simultaneous existence all through the xv<sup>th</sup> century of forms like « 3e list » and « 3ou list » had some share of influence in bringing about the general adoption of « you » as nominative pronoun : « you » must have been used from tradition, in the second half of the xv<sup>th</sup> century, with old impersonal verbs by men who looked upon them as personal, so that the same « you » was the more deeply fixed thereby into their minds as a nominative pronoun. And as a proof of this, see Berthelet at work : Berthelet, whose edition, we are told, « is in many places amended | and diligently imprynted », is turning second persons singular into second persons plural for the sake of uniformity (see, § 40) ; he makes « pou soroist » (860) into « *ye* sorowe », but « pou list obey » 853) into « *you* list obey ».

#### Summing up of Results :

Here we have to register two changes since Chaucer ; they can be recorded in few words, but their importance is great, for they constitute, down to the present day, two of the most visible deviations from Anglo-Saxon : the decay of impersonal verbs,

1. In line 1311 « 3e must » is altered by Shirley into « 3ow must » ; can we take this fact as a proof that « 3ow » was a proper nominative with him ? No, for perhaps he is only restoring there the Chaucerian idiom « *us* moste » G 946 — These questions are most delusive.



slowly preparing in Chaucer, and already far-gone in the generation which followed his — and the beginning of the gradual process, seen going on during the whole century, through which « you » came to assume the functions of a nominative pronoun ; these two changes, we have seen, are closely linked together.

We shall next study some questions connected with Verbs ; each will be the object of a separate Chapter, beginning with

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## VIII. — AUXILIARIES

A new auxiliary, « do », comes into common use for the first time about our period ; but « shal » and « gan » must first engage our attention.

§ 45. — « I *shal* » = I am to

This value of « shal » is frequently illustrated in a certain kind of parenthetical remark of which Lydgate is very fond : he stops a description to introduce this line :

« If I þe soth ariȝt report[e] *shal* » 43

that is :

« If I am to speak the truth » ; sometimes we find « if I shal not lie » 73, or again « if I shal not feyne » 762, 911 ; he prefixes this line

« And if I *shal* descryuen him ariȝt » 554

to his description of the knight.

Of course, this meaning of « shal » occurs in other cases : the lover tells his lady that she is « Ensaumple of vertue » and shows to all women

« hou þei *shul* hem gie » 973.

Compare with these quotations from our text :

« He was, if I *shal* yeven him his laude  
A theef... » Chaucer, D 1352 ; VII 84

and,

« If then we *shall* shake off our slavish yoke,  
Away with me » Shakspeare, *Rich II*, II 1. 291.

## § 46. « GAN ».

« Gan » forms a past tense with the Infinitive :

« Er I *gan taken* kepe » 13

« Where pat I *gan gone* » 26.

Before we inquire more closely into the nature of this past tense, whether it means « began to go » or simply « I went », it is requisite that the history of « gan » in such combinations should be sketched.

« Gan » is the past tense of the verb « ginnen », a shortened form of « onginnan » (= to begin); it seems to lose its original meaning when used with Infinitives about the end of the xii<sup>th</sup> century; such instances as the following are frequent in *Lajamon's Brut A* (c. 1205):

« gomen men *gunnen cleopien* » (Morris, 6/498)

« ford he *gon buzen*

pat he to burh com » (Id. 489).

In these two cases, and in many besides, « gon » already means nothing more than a periphrastic « did »: « they did proclaim », « they did go », which in point of fact is equivalent to a simple preterite: « they proclaimed », « they went ». Such was thenceforward the habitual value of « gan » with Infinitives; I quote a passage from Chaucer, in which it would be ridiculous to give « gan » and « gone » any other meaning:

« And in her swough so sadly holdeth she

Hir children two, whan *she gan hem t'embrace*

That with greet sleighte and greet difficultee

The children from hir arm *they gone arace* » E. 1103.

Notice that here the infinitive which enters into combination with « gan » is accompanied by « t » = to, which does not seem to alter the import of the construction; and this reveals an important fact, viz., sometimes, when « to » is inserted between « gan » and the infinitive, the same « gan » nevertheless keeps the meaning of a periphrastic « did », and does not resume its original

meaning of « began »; I adduce for a proof a passage from the *Romaunt of the Rose*, in which « gan + to + infinitive » is made to translate a *French habitual perfect*:

« Et sachiés que moult <i>se penoit</i> De faire a Dieu prieres faintes. »	« And bisily she <i>gan to fonde</i> To make many a feynt prayere, »
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433

in the description of the *picture* and character of Pope-Holy.

It is also in « a faire Image » that Lydgate saw

« ... how pat Ioue *gan to chaunge* his cope  
Oonli for loue of þe faire Europe...  
And how pat he bi transmutacioun  
The shap *gan take* of Amphitrioun »

123.

We see that « gan to » is absolutely equivalent to « gan » alone, and forms with Infinitives a past tense which is itself equivalent in structure to « do + infinitive », and in value to a simple preterite.

In Chaucer « gan » is moderately frequent, but Lydgate sometimes seems to make a point of letting no opportunity of using it escape: 10, 13, 23, 26, 42, 57; 111, 117, 122 etc.

The variants are very interesting:

Shirley generally alters « gan » into « can[e] », a corrupted form of « gan » which went side by side with it from an early time.

The prints sometimes let it pass, sometimes confirm our opinion of its value by substituting « did »: « Where pat I gan gone » 26, b has « *I dyde* gone »; sometimes even, they have the simple preterite: « Ioue gan to change his cope » 117, Caxton: « love *changed* his cope » (while Wynken de Worde and Berthelet: « began to chaunge »). I may be allowed to quote two more variants, first because they show that the printers did all they could to remove a « gan », and also because they are rather ingenious:

Instead of: « As I gan neigh pis grisli dredful place » 23, Caxton and Berthelet print: « As I *cam* neigh... »; and for « Penelope gan eke, for sorowis, dul » 407 we find in Berthelet « Penelope *became* eke, for sorowes, dul »

« Gan » never recovered its former glory after Lydgate; it is

still found in Shakspeare, but rarely, and in such passages as make it probable that this auxiliary was already an archaism then :

« O pity » *gan she cry*, « flint-hearted boy ! » *V. A.* 95.

### Do.

In order to understand the functions of « do » as auxiliary, it is useful to know some of its peculiarities in one of its values as an ordinary verb.

#### § 47. — « DO » MEANING « TO CAUSE » WITH INFINITIVES<sup>1</sup>.

« Do » is very common in this sense in Chaucer ; when so used *it is directly connected with the Infinitive and has no need of « to »* : « doon us hange » *C.* 790, « that I mighte do werche... of myn hous... a cherche » *G.* 546 ; on the contrary « make » is rarer in the sense of « to cause » and the infinitive which follows is generally introduced by *to* :

« thou wolt *make*

A-night ful ofte thyn heed *to ake* » *HF.* 632.

In Lydgate, the whole case is reversed, « do » is only used in a stock-phrase like « do me lyue or deie » 587, 772, 791, 982 and once in « do me varie » 658, while « make » is the rule (422, 450, 581, 859), often without « to » :

« To maken him so mych wo endure » 236

« make awake » 839, etc.

It is of some importance that, after a period of high frequency, « do » should decrease in a function which placed it in close intercourse with Infinitives, just at the same time as it became common as an auxiliary.

#### § 48. — « DO » AS AUXILIARY IN POSITIVE CONSTRUCTIONS.

This occurs with « do » and with « did », and in each case the

1. This sense is A. S. « swā pū dydest minne brōpor his god forlætan » (Bosw. Toller, Suppl. p. 155) ; rather rare.

auxiliary is redundant, the meaning identical with that of a mere present or preterite ; but Lydgate evidently prefers the periphrastic to the simple tense :

« *pis benigne*  
 From bettir to bettir hir hert[e] *doth resigne* » 312  
 « *Folowip peffect pat pei do specifte* » 511  
 « *drede pan doþ awake* » 672  
 « *O myȝti goddes, daister after nyȝt*  
 Glading *pe morov whan ȝe done appere* » 1356.

Similarly 252, 846, 1026, etc.

With « *did* »

« *Me did oppresse a sodein dedeli slepe* » 14  
 « *And as I did approche* » 20  
 « *when she did fle* » 116  
 « *when he did hir sue* » 119  
 « *And hou pe Musis lowli did obeie* » 133  
 « *pe goddes did enclyne*  
*Mekeli hir hede* » 371  
 « *Til, at pe last, of roupe she did abraide*  
*When she his troupe and menyng did fele* » 1055.

Similarly 1233, 1281, 1365, etc.

The reader understands that, what with « *gan* » (§ 46) and what with « *do* » or « *did* » the author manages to do away well-nigh with all simple tenses : they seem to displease him.

If we now turn to Chaucer and search his works for instances of « *do* » so used, we find but extremely few : in fact there seems to be but one :

« *Is ther no morsel breed that ye do kepe ?* » B 3624 ;

and before adopting it, we should be quite sure that it cannot be understood otherwise (« *that you cause to be kept* ») ; in earlier periods instances are rare, often inconclusive and mostly limited to the Imperative.

We must therefore conclude that this construction, of which there are comparatively very few illustrations, either before, or in Chaucer, developed into a favourite usage during the following

generation, for it is found as such in the works of Chaucer's immediate successor.

A consideration which might be of some help in accounting for this development, is that it took place close upon the time when « do » was most frequently in use with the Infinitive, not requiring « to », but outwardly like an auxiliary (§ 47). Let us remember also that, from the first, « do » indicated general action and could stand as a substitute for other verbs when their repetition was objectionable. Having all this in mind, it becomes natural that « do », after having been so long and in several different ways so very like an auxiliary, should at last come into use as such to form periphrastic tenses with the Infinitive; — and why were these periphrastic tenses formed? — Merely *to avoid the baldness of the simple tense, to which the language seems to have had objections at different periods*, for we have seen that the periphrastic auxiliary « gan » was created to no other purpose; but « gan » could only serve for the past, while « do » can serve both for past and present.

Notice that as soon as « do » was promoted to this new function, it began to decrease as ordinary verb meaning « to cause », with infinitives; and this is easily understood, for the coexistence of two such constructions as

« he dide hem drawe » B 1824

meaning « he caused them to be drawn », and

« he did hem drawe<sup>1</sup> »

meaning « he did draw them, he drew them », would create endless confusions; we saw how difficult it is to decide, if one admits that « do » is already an auxiliary in Chaucer, whether « ye do kepe » means « you keep » or « you cause to be kept ». One of the two constructions had to be rejected: the new one was wanted, while the loss of the other could be supplied (and was supplied) by « make »; so « do » = « to cause » disappeared. The periphrastic « do » on the contrary, lived on thrivingly for a

1. Such would be the usual order in *Lydgate*; see « Word-Order » § 72 b.

long time : we know that it was a great favourite with Elizabethan authors ; after which time it began to die.

### § 49. — NEGATIVE AND INTERROGATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS.

At what time and for what reasons did English-speaking people begin to use « do » with all verbs save auxiliaries in negative and interrogative constructions ? A tantalising question, which it is not for me even to attempt to answer now, for neither in my text, nor in the contemporary works that I have studied, could I find any instance of « do » so used :

In negative constructions all verbs are treated in the same way as the auxiliary verbs ; just as Lydgate says « I ne mai » or « I may not », he says « I ne recch » 892 and « I me caste not to fle » *Reson and S* 4603,

« I not out breke » 662<sup>1</sup>

« pat she not disdeyne » 734 ;

here are some quotations from Hoccleve :

« Men loue it not » (*The Minor Poems*, Ed. Furnivall, [p. 34, l. 282])

« Whoso nat spekith » (Id. p. 39, l. 434)

« I nat confesse » (p. 44, l. 22).

Similarly of course in Chaucer (*Tr* I 241, 493) and earlier.

The same thing is true of Interrogative Constructions ; it is quite typical of Lydgate's monotonous flow of clauses that interrogative sentences are rather rare in his works : all those I have found are with auxiliaries ; but just as he says « shuld I ? », Hoccleve says

« *Made it not mynde it standith wel with me ?* » (p. 121, l. 318)

« *Holdest thou it a prudence ?* » (p. 126, l. 449)

« ... *lakkist thou pitee ?* » (p. 183, l. 143)

« *What ende takith swich lyf vicious ?* » (p. 218, l. 77) ;

so everywhere, and also, of course, in Chaucer

1. This curious order is also found with auxiliaries : « I nat can » (Hoccleve. *M. Poems*, p. 28 l. 101) see Word-Order, § 70.



« *See ye that ook ?* » C. 764 « *Why livestow ?* » C 713, etc.

But, in the fine tale *De Hugolino*, there is one mysterious instance :

« *Fader, why do ye wepe ?* » B 3622

which must remain a puzzling curiosity until more material confirm it, for nothing can be grounded on isolated instances : they forbid all theories which do not take them into account, but cannot vouchsafe any.

One undeniable fact nevertheless holds good, viz., that « *do* » was commonly used as periphrastic auxiliary in positive sentences, long before its presence was at all required or usual in negative and interrogative sentences<sup>1</sup>. Were it not for the mysterious Chaucerian instance, I should go on to say that one construction was prepared by the other : since the baldness of the simple tense was objected to, and since the habit of using expressions like « *she dop awake* » arose for no other reason, then would the baldness of the simple tense be objected to in interrogative and negative sentences as well, and the natural way of turning « *she dop awake* » into a negative sentence is « *she dop not awake* », into an interrogative one, « *dop she awake ?* »

#### Summing up of Results :

1. « *Shal* » = to be to, very frequent and will last till Shakspeare.

2. « *Gan* » common as periphrastic auxiliary, not for long.

3. « *Do* » appears for the first time as usual periphrastic auxiliary.

4. « *Do* » is not yet known as interrogative and negative auxiliary.

1. It is still frequently dispensed with in Shakspeare : « *I not doubt* » *Temp.* II, 1121 ; « *It not appears to me* » 2 *Hen IV*, IV 198. — See Abbott, § 305.

## IX. — NEGATION

The manner in which negative value is imparted to a verb, and whether this involves the positive or negative value of certain other words in the sentence, are two important subjects of inquiry; the answers arrived at for any given time will rank among the chief characteristics of the English of that period. With regard to the verb alone, negation is either simple or composite; with regard to some other words of the sentence taken in connection with the negative verb, negation is either single or manifold; the significance and use of this nomenclature will appear by and by.

We may now turn to the study of these two questions in our text.

### § 50. — NEGATION, SOMETIMES SIMPLE, SOMETIMES COMPOSITE, SOMETIMES ANOMALOUS.

When one particle constitutes the negative element bearing on the verb, the negation is simple: « *hē ne geseah* »; when the negative element bearing on the verb comprises a negative adverbial (contracted) form besides the negative particle, then the negation is composite: « *he ne lafte nat* » (Chaucer, A 492).

In our text both simple and composite negation are found:

a) simple Negation: « *ne* » alone:

« And she *ne mai* pin hert[e] bring in peas » 920

« I *ne mai* concele (P = I may not).  
Myn hid wound » 988

« ... I *ne recch*, pouȝ ȝe do me deie » 982

« ... she hir lord *ne myȝt*[e] se » 68 (S = might not)

« ..... no wiȝt

*Ne came* to wirship withoute some debate » 399

[(S = Come to no... »)

he « *noþing* for his mede  
 Of *þov ne askiþ* » 1127  
 (b, at the risk of unhinging the sentence = « Of  
 [you *he askep* »).

This is frequent : « *I nyste* » 17, « *I nold* » 335, « *Nere pat...* » 555 « *pere nys* » 794

b) Composite Negation : « *ne.... not* »  
 « For it *ne sit not vnto fressh[e] May* » 184 (b = it is nat syttinge)  
 « The lodc ster when I *ne may not se* » 612 (b omits « *ne* ») :  
 a rarer construction : there are a few instances in Shirley's  
 variants : « *I nyste nought how* » 17, « *I nam not* » 1068.

But there is also a third form of negation :

c) Composite Negation corrupted : « *not* » alone :

some lovers « *were not loued agayn* » 158  
 « *It wil not be* » 923  
 « *which mai not ben vnbound* » 1230 ; 182 ; 1033  
 « *And if so be that I not outebreke* » 662 ; 734.

It is as frequent as « *ne* » alone.

These three negative constructions are found in Chaucer.

- a) « *In hir ne lakked no condicioun* » C. 41  
 « *To teche hem vertuloke that ye ne slake* » C. 82
- b) « ... of his wo *ne dorste he not biginne* » Tr I 503  
 « *Ne falleth nought to purpos me to telle* » Tr I 142<sup>1</sup>  
 « *Ther nis not oon can war by other be* » Tr I 203
- c) « *For I sey nought...* » Tr II 673  
 « *Men reden not...* » Tr I 241.

« *Ne* » alone is most frequent ; « *ne... not* » comes next. So that we have to register for Lydgate the decrease of « *ne... not* » and the rise of « *not* » alone, « *ne* » hardly suffering any change.

Before we proceed any further, it is indispensable that the origin and history of this polymorphous negative system should be given in outline.

In Anglo-Saxon, as is well-known, negation is regularly simple

1. Notice that « *ne... not* » is the same as « *ne... nought* » (See Tr I 684) both in value, and in origin ; « *not* » and « *nought* » are both from « *nā wihl* » the former being more contracted.

and formed with « ne », composite negation (« ne... nā » and « ne... noht ») being only occasional and never used except for emphasis<sup>1</sup>. But in M. E, composite negation comes rapidly to the fore as the usual negation, with « ne... noht »; it is already very common at the end of the XII<sup>th</sup> century; if we take the text III (B) in Morris's *Specimens* pt. I, which is of that period, we find : « he *ne* mihte *noht* » 11, « his licome *ne* sceolde *noht* wursien » 13, « mon *ne* iknawe *noht* *pe* wei » 25, « *pe* nule *noht* iheren » 29 etc. With this development it is interesting to compare the French composite negations « ne... mie », « ne... pas » which are already frequent in the early XII<sup>th</sup> century (Etienne § 388); they may have had some influence on the growth of composite negation in English, though a natural craving for emphasis on a negative verb is sufficient to account for the latter. But, curiously enough, when « ne... no[h]t » had been well-established as the usual negation for about a hundred years, the more essential and primitive part of the combination, « ne », fell off, and only the adventitious supplement « not » remained; we find in *Havelok the Dane* which belongs to the late XIII<sup>th</sup> century « he shulde him *nouct* greme » 442, « Ther-offe yaf he *nouct* a stra » 466. This mode of negation is irrational, and the result of a fortuitous accident : we accordingly called it « Composite Negation corrupted<sup>2</sup> »

Such is therefore the way in which it came about that since the XIV<sup>th</sup> century, there were three possible negative constructions with verbs : the old simple « ne », the composite « ne... not », and the anomalous « not ». We have seen these three living side by side, not differing in value or in use, in Chaucer and Lydgate. That there is no difference in their use and value, is evident even from the brief list of instances given above, in which psychologically identical cases are expressed by one or another kind of negation quite indifferently. In the course of the most careful

1. Composite emphatic negative forms in A. S. are « ne... nā » (*Bēow.* 1508; Sweet's R. 3/19, 6/39) in which « nā » is an adverbial contracted compound (ne + ā); and « ne... noht » (Sweet's R. 3/195) in which « noht » is also an adverbial contracted compound (nā + wiht).

2. In this respect there is no similitude between English and standard French, since the « ne » is always required in the latter; but does not the vulgar colloquial habit of dropping the « ne » as in « Tu vas pas l'faire tuer » point to a possible future disappearance of it ?

perusal of any of Chaucer's or Lydgate's works, weighing the sense minutely as one reads, not a single time will the composite negation give an impression of stronger emphasis than the simple, nor will any shade of meaning distinguish the simple « ne » from the anomalous « not ». And besides, how could it be otherwise, considering the nature of these constructions, and by what process they gradually developed, each from the preceding one in the manner just now described, the composite necessarily losing its old emphatic force at the same time as it became more common, and the anomalous being an imperfect copy of the composite ?

As to subsequent history, the variants (for which see list of instances above) show that, among the MSS., S and P, and b among the prints, often find a way of removing « ne » and « ... not » without completely ruining the line or the sentence. This agrees with Mätzner's statement that « ne » and « ne ... not » passed out of use in the early xvi<sup>th</sup> century ; so that it must have happened that, in a century's time, the anomalous « not » succeeded in supplanting the two older and perfectly logical constructions which we saw still in a tolerably flourishing state in Lydgate.

### § 51. — MANIFOLD NEGATION.

When only one of the constitutive parts of a sentence (subject, verb, object, adverbial qualifications, conjunction) has a negative value, then negation is single ; otherwise it is manifold.

In A. S. manifold negation is the rule : in a negative sentence, the negative particle is attached to every word which can bear it, besides the verb : « *nān mann nyste nān ping* » (Sweet).

But gradually, as the language strove towards logical integrity, manifold negation became rarer ; it decreased very slowly however, and we find it still a conspicuous usage in our text.

With Lydgate, a negative verb does not prevent a negative object :

« For he *ne* durst of her *no merci* craue » 240; 1127

« And for *no tales* pin hert[e] *not* remue » 1182; 1157

« I am *not* at my laarge

To done riȝt *nouȝt* but bi hir ordinaunce » 1069.

A negative verb with negative object does not exclude a negative adverbial qualification (notice also the neg. conjunction « *ne* »):

« honour *non ne* glorie

I myȝt[e] *not, in no wise, acheue* » 595.

Caxton and Wynken de Worde have an important variant: « I myghte not in *ony* wise acheve », which does away with one superfluous negative; Berthelet went further and suppressed two: « honour non... I myght in any maner wyse acheve »; he had to introduce a stop-gap in order to preserve the metre.

Same case as the preceding, but with a negative *subject*:

« Remembrep eke, how *neuer* yit *no* wist

*Ne* came to wirship... » 399.

Sometimes we have two negative adverbial qualifications, following close upon each other: « Why will God be so cruel to a man », says the poet, « as

To maken him so mych wo endure

For hir percas whom he shal *in no wise*

Reioise *never, ...* » 237.

Berthelet has « Reioise *at any tyme* »; his objection to « never » must have been great since he preferred such a clumsy substitute.

A doubly negative sentence is introduced by a negative conjunction: The lover says in his « *compleint* » to the lady:

« I ne mai concele

Myn hid[de] wound, *ne* I ne may apele

Vnto *no grettir* (than you, my lady) » 988; 877.

These quotations make it apparent how powerful the tendency to manifold negation still was in Lydgate's time, while the variants show that before the end of the century a new tendency set in: this tendency it was which led ultimately to the banishment of manifold negation from the standard language.

Summing up of Results:

That Lydgate's time saw the last of Simple, Composite and to a certain degree of Manifold Negation as common and regular constructions, has been proved in this chapter.

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## X. — THE INFINITIVE.

Before setting out upon the many questions connected with the Infinitive in our text, it is perhaps best to settle a point of accident: what are the endings of the Infinitive and Gerund in the *Temple*, and can they afford us any syntactical criterion?

The Infinitive ends now in *ē* (sometimes *ēn*), now in *e*; and if some verbs like « to say » have a gerund « to sein », most other verbs show no trace of it, and there are unquestionable gerunds in value like « to do » (rhyming with « so ») and « to se » (rhyming with « beaute ») etc.

In short these endings are but lifeless fragments; they were inserted more or less as the metre required and also according to the scribe's fancy.

We cannot take them as guides; the context alone can tell us whether we have to do with gerundial value or not. For our period, I even object to the word « gerund » in the majority of cases: there are no more any gerunds, but infinitives on which the functions of the older gerund may devolve.

Knowing that we have to move on purely syntactical grounds, and that accident can afford us no help, except at best an occasional indication, we set out upon our subject. To the rescue of endings very early, came certain prepositions and these we shall study first.

### § 52. — « To » WITH THE INFINITIVE.

« Tō » was in A. S. the almost exclusive property of the gerund in « *enne (anne)* »: there are however a few instances with infinitives: « *Mæl is mē tō fēran* » *Bēow.* 316 « *pnæs ær māra fyrst | frēode tō friclan* » *ibid.* 2556. Very early in M. E. « to » began to be of common occurrence with infinitives; but I cannot

entertain the idea of sketching, ever so briefly, the history of « to » with the Infinitive : it is a wide and intricate question which requires a book to itself. I only mean to show how far « to » extends in Lydgate's time.

After Auxiliaries, the Infinitive regularly dispenses with « to » ; but, when a considerable distance intervenes, « to » is sometimes used for connection's sake ; Lydgate thus describes the fate of those who have been « Yentred into religioun Or pei hade yeris of discredesioun » :

They « al hir life *cannot* but complein  
In wide copis perfeccioun *to feine*  
Ful couertli *to curen* al hir smert  
And shew the contrarie outward of her hert » 207.

P, which is a 1450 MS, once swerves from the text to introduce « to » :

« He *most* mekeli oute of his hertis graue  
Discure his wound and shew it to his lech  
Or ellis *to deie* for defaute of spech » 917. (only in P).

After Impersonal Verbs (even when used personally, § 43) the greatest uncertainty prevails : with « to » : 297, 314, 439, 447, 470, 637 ; without « to » : 826, 868, 852, 1028, 1080. However, one remark generally applies : when the Infinitive is far from the Imp. Verb, then « to » is used, otherwise not,

« Whan pat *hir list* his harmes *to redresse* » 314  
« ... *hir lust disposen* » 1080  
« til she me *list releue* » 826.

There are, of course, exceptions : « she list *to appese* » 1086.

As object of a verb of perception the Infinitive commonly goes without « to » :

« I sauze somme sit and stonde » 49

but « to » occurs once

« Wipin pe tempil me pouyt pat *I sey*  
Gret pres of folk with murmur wondirful  
*To croude* and shove » 534.



Compare « *To see...* profound Solomon *to* time a jig » Shak.  
*L. L. L.* IV 3. 169.

With the Infinitive as object of other verbs, « *to* » prevails, but there are curious exceptions :

« I purpose here *to* maken and *to* write  
 A litil tretise and a proecess *make*  
 In pris of women » 1381.

§ 53. — « FORTO » WITH THE INFINITIVE.

In A. S. « *tō* » with the gerund indicated purpose ; very early in M. E. times it was reinforced by « *for* », and the combination « *forto* » (*forte*) was used with infinitives (and gerunds) ; its value was the same as that of the old « *tō* » : « nas tid ne tyme ne ne wurp. pat god ne send gode mæn his folc *forte* ȝelapie to his rice » (Morris *S.* I, 90 ; before 1150). But this « *forte* » soon came to be attached to the Infinitive when no meaning of purpose was wanted, and with scarcely more import than an ordinary « *to* » : « Ne wolde he naut polien þe þeof *forte* breoken hire » (*Id* VII, 7) ; « he would not suffer the thief *forto* break her (the house) ». This confusion lived on and developed, so that in Chaucer « *forto* » and « *to* » are often equivalent. As to our monk, he is absolutely indifferent in his use of them :

« *Forto* » is often rigorously void of all meaning of purpose :

« Lich him pat is in turment and in pein  
 And knowep not to whom *forto* discure » 629  
 (Pr = « *to* »)  
 « For it ne sit not vnto fressh[e] May  
*Forto* be coupled to oold[e] lanuari » 185.

In these two cases (there are many besides) « *to* » has no more meaning of purpose than is inherent to the joining of two verbs<sup>1</sup>.

On the contrary « *to* » is invested with the very value which rightfully belongs to « *forto* » : I left the Temple, says Lydgate

« Me *to* refressh oute of the pres allone » 547.  
 (Pr = *for to*)

1. This last unavoidable residue of intentional sense in all verbal connections is no doubt the cause of the logically exaggerated development of « *forto* » in M. E.

And lastly « to » and « for to » are used indiscriminatingly in two parallel clauses :

« — For euer of loue pe maner and pe guyse  
Is *forto* hurt his seruante and *to* wounde, » 420  
« — To conquer him pat never shal repent  
Me *forto* serue and humbli *to* please » 501.  
(Pr = « for to »)

Or again in *Reson and S.*

« Graunted him *to* be most sage  
And *forto* shyne most in glorie » 2011.

All this is convincing : « *forto* » is a mere stop-gap.

However it is sometimes very useful, expressing a connection of purpose between a substantive and a verb :

The lady was richly clad

« Wip sondri rolles on hir garnement  
*Forto* expoune pe trowth of hir entent » 304 ;

neither « to » nor « in order to » could in Mn E. mean precisely that :

« There were inscriptions on her garment, the object of which was to expound... ».

A similar case is found a few lines further :

« For in hir hond she held a litel bil  
*Forto* declare pe somme of al hir wil » 318.

This in Mn E. would mean that the fact that she had a « bil » showed what she meant, which is absurd ; but in M. E. « a litel bil *forto* declare » something, was a natural connection ; Berthelet already objects to it and goes the length of substituting : « *Wherein was writte* the somme, etc. ».

Returning to the gap-filling use of « *forto* » we may remark that it was not to last very long ; the prints repeatedly evince a marked tendency towards order and distinction in the variants ; and « *forto* » was probably felt as an archaism already in the time of Queen Elizabeth (Kellner, 395).

§ 54. — « THE NOMINATIVE WITH THE INFINITIVE »<sup>1</sup>

This is a very well-known construction (Kellner, § 406 and § 70); but the instance which occurs in our poem is especially neat :

« For tyme is nov daunger to arace  
Out of youre hert and *merci in to pace* » 1142;

« to pace », as in Chaucer, means « to pass, to go »; if we separate the two parallel clauses we have : « It is time to tear cruelty out of your heart » and « It is time mercy to go in »: the latter is an instance of « Nominative with Infinitive » and the integrity of the construction is shown by the fact that it is put on the same level with the other clause, and that both are joined coordinately to the same introductory « It is tyme ».

The « Nominative with Infinitive » is common in Lydgate: here is another illustration from *Reson and S* :

« But hyt is harde, who kan discerne,  
*A man himself so to governe* » 596.

## § 55. — INFINITIVE INDEFINITELY USED.

Such is the name given by Dr Abbott to a very interesting function of the Infinitive; so subtle is the nature of this widespread use that an analysis of it would be void if given abruptly now, whereas further particularisation will naturally be evolved out of the following survey and interpretation of instances.

Lydgate tells us, of the lady of his poem, that she was the well of « plesaunce », a mirror of faithfulness

« And to al oper ladi and maistres  
*To sue vertu* » 297,

which means « She was lady and mistress to all her sex, as regards following the paths of virtue »; and of the knight

1. Such is the name this construction generally goes under; therefore I keep it; but terminology should not be allowed to fly in the face of reality: in I. M. E. and in Mn E, cases have no longer any psychological one.

« Me pouȝt he was, *to speke of semelynes*,  
Of shappe, of fourme and also of stature  
The most passing... » 558

that is « as regards speaking... ». But the Indefinite Infinitive has many values which, however, have all a common basis, as we shall see; here is a passage where it means « in + present participle » :

« Of him I had so gret compassioun  
Forto reherse his weymentacioun  
That..... » 950 :

« Forto reherse » is equivalent to « in, while, rehearsing » or, in French : « à répéter sa lamentacion ». Same value in line 947, Shirley :

« For roupe of which *of his wo to endite*  
Mi penne I fele quaken as I write ».

Other MSS. have « his wo as I endite » which might serve as an excellent rendering. With a slight variation on the preceding sense :

« What wonder þan pouȝ I be wiþ drede  
Inli supprised *forto axen grace* ? » 765,

that is « when it comes to asking for grace ». In different surroundings, but almost identical :

« Sip i am yold, hou shuld I þen preue  
To gif a werre ! » 597 :

This means « Since I have surrendered, what success could be mine *if I made war, making war* ! » Or again :

« And with hir song how she was magnified  
With Iubiter *to bein Istellified* » 136 ;

these words apply to Philology : great was her glory *when she was (in being)* received into Heaven and made a star therein, as it were (see Schick's note).

Similar use of the Infinitive leads to curious *apparent* verbal connection :

« Sipen *hir to serue* I may me not restreyne » 735 :

if we try to understand this line as an ordinary verbal connection, we fail, for it is impossible to link « restreyne » and « serue »; but if we think of our construction, then the line becomes plain and means : « Since I cannot restrain myself *as regards serving her*, from serving her. » Sometimes such combinations would lead a modern reader to gather from the text exactly the reverse of what is meant :

« I am embraced so pat I mai not strue  
*To loue and serue*, whiles pat I am on lyue » 576 ;

which does not say that the lover cannot make efforts in order to love and serve, of course, but just the opposite : « I so burn with passion that I cannot strive as regards loving and serving », that is, « I cannot help doing so ».

The same function of the Infinitive is to be discerned in a curious use of the latter in connection with substantives ; Venus is threatening the lovers : if one of them breaks his truth, « Saturne and loue, and Mars, as it is founde, » and « eke Cupide » shal « be wreke » on him or her :

« So pat, bi aspectes of hir fers[e] lokes,  
 Wip-oute merci, shal fal[le] *þe vengeance*  
*Forto be raced* clene out of my bokes  
 On which of ȝow be found[e] variaunce » 1239, .

that is « the vengeance *which consists in being struck out* of my books ». Similarly we find in Chaucer :

« Proverbes canst thy-self y-nowe, and wost  
*Ayeins that vyce for to been a labbe<sup>1</sup>* » Tr III 300.

While examining the above instances we have noticed : first, that « to » and « forto » seem therein to possess a variety of meanings : as regards, while, if etc, and secondly, that the construction is in each case approximately equivalent to a modern absolute clause with present participle ; a step further and we get at the core of the Indefinite Infinitive ; its inner psychological nature can be described as follows : an action is expressed in the most indefinite manner possible, by an Infinitive, and the relations

1. = blab, tell-tale.

of this action with the general sense, the angle from which it is to be looked at, as it were, *is left to be inferred from the context*. Now we understand why the preposition, which introduces this kind of Infinitive seems to have so many different values: its value varies with each individual case and is given to it by the context.

This is certainly a highly interesting process of speech; it has an analogue in the Mn E absolute clause with present participle, whose special import also varies and is specified and particularised in each case by the surroundings; and thereby we can perceive why one construction is an approximate rendering of the other.

The excellent fitness of the name « Indefinite Infinitive » is now made apparent for the first time.

It remains now for us to give the history of this construction and ultimately to try to discover its origin. We should first notice that it is a frequent and beloved turn in our author; this is evident enough from the above, and I further adduce some references to illustrations in *Reson and S.* 2277, 4855, 6631, etc. Chaucer also affords many instances (See Einkenel); here is a fine one:

« For so hope I my soule best avaunce,  
To preyre for hem that Loves servaunts be » *Tr* I. 48.

But I have found none in the xiii<sup>th</sup> and previous centuries; nor have I seen any quoted; those which Kellner gives (§ 398) go no further back than the middle of the xv<sup>th</sup> century, later than our text. We are therefore to admit for the present that this use arose in the xiv<sup>th</sup> century; but whence? — It might be an indigenous development, but to show with a certain amount of precision how it could evolve from the old gerund would be no easy matter and would require no little ingenuity<sup>1</sup>.

Its psychological nature, as we have seen, is similar to that of absolute clauses with present participles which existed from the earliest, so that the mental attitude which could give birth to it was known to English-speaking people. This however can at best constitute but a ready seed-bed: the seed came from France.

1. It cannot be done, at any rate, as summarily as Dr Abbott seems to think (§ 356).

The use of French infinitives with various prepositions « à, pour, de » is very similar to our construction ; I have already had occasion to show how one of our quotations could be perfectly translated by French « à + infinitive » ; for « pour », see Etienne, § 366, and for « de », a passage from the *Romaunt of the Rose* by the side of the original :

« Mais de sa robe devisier,	« But of hir robe to devyse,
Criens durement qu'encombre	I drede encombered for to
soie ».	be » 889,
that is « When it comes to describing... »	

Concerning the history of this construction after Lydgate, we know that it is still frequent in Shakspeare (Abbott, § 356) whose temper we can understand that it particularly suited; here is an illustration from the *Sonnets* :

## Day and Night

« Do in consent shake hands to torture me :  
The one by toil, the other *to complain*  
How far I toil still farther off from thee » (XXVIII).

The Indefinite Infinitive seems to have disappeared in the course of the xvii<sup>th</sup> century.

§ 56. — « SO » AND INFINITIVE.

Everywhere in Lydgate the construction of « so » with an Infinitive is not « so ... as to » but « *so ... to* »: I grant you my help, says Venus to the lady, « for pat 3e

Haue in your peynes ben so pacient  
To take louli your aduersite » 387.

Again : « Whi wil god don so grete a cruelte  
To eny man, or to his creature,  
*To maken* him so mych wo endure » 236.

Our monk saw in the Temple « many a faire maide » « ful oft  
wepe and wring

That pay in men founde *swich varyinge*  
*To loue a seison »* 217.

When the author of *Reson and S.* « began his passage to visite the Worlde » according to the bidding of Nature, he saw rivers,

« Somme so myghty and so large  
To bere a gret ship or a barge » 944 (Cf. also 4285).

We always find the same construction in Chaucer

— « Therfor be no wight so nyce  
To take a love only for chere » *H F* 277  
— « ... a thought may flee so hye  
With fetheres of Phylosophye  
To passen everich element » *Ibid.* 975.

This construction which, I repeat, is the only possible one in Chaucer and Lydgate, can be explained by the fact that the infinitives therein possess some share of gerundial meaning : so myghty to bere = mighty even to bearing ; and what confirms me in the opinion that such is the real nature of our combination is that even « so » can be missing and the construction reduced to an adjective and an Infinitive : In *Reson and S.* we are told that Mercury had by his side

« a swerd  
*Sharpe to shaue* a mannys berde » 1798

= sharp even to shaving... ; in the same poem we read

« And to *denye* it be not *bolde* » 2043 (also 4317)

= be not so bold as to deny it, be not bold even to denying it. This is a stock-phrase « be not bolde to... » ; we find it again in our own text :

« And pere-withal bitt hope anon ryst  
Me to be *bold* to *prayen* hir of grace » 676.

The comma which Schick puts after « bold », thus cutting the well-known stock-phrase into two, must be suppressed, and the lines interpreted : « Then anon hope bids me be *so bold as to pray* to her for grace ». It becomes now evident that the construction with « so » and that without « so » are essentially the same : therefore the infinitive has gerundial value in the former as in the latter.



« So ... to » reigns in Shakspeare :

« No woman's heart  
So big to hold so much » *T. N.* II 4. 99 ;

we even find instances without « so » :

« Be not fond  
To think that Caesar bears such rebel blood » *J. C.* III 140

= Be not so fond as to think.... (Abbott, § 281).

« So... to » is the rule in Dryden : « I will be so vain to say », in the *Preface* to a play (*The Mock Astrologer* 1668) and, consequently, in the current English of the time. I have found but one instance of « so ... as to » in Dryden's plays<sup>1</sup>

### § 57. — INFINITIVAL REFERENCE.

According to the rules of modern Syntax, that is of modern logic, the Infinitive should always refer to the subject of the principal clause ; not so in Lydgate :

« I sauze somme sit and stonde  
And some with compleint woful and pitous  
Wip doleful chere to putten to Venus  
Vpon hir wo forto haue pite » 53.

They gave their « bills » to Venus « upon hir wo forto haue pite » i. e, for *Venus* to haue pity on their woe : the Infinitive refers to the object of the principal clause. Further we see how the lovers began to « offerin sparovis and dovues faire and white »

« Vnto pe goddes, wip sigh and with praier  
Hem to relese of pat pei most desire » 544

i. e « in order that the goddess should release them »

And again, when the lady and the lover are united by Venus, Lydgate says that he saw

1. Cf. Congreve : *The Way of the World* Act. III sc II : « Else you could never be so cool to fall from a principal to be an assistant ».

« Venus anon embracen and constrein  
*Her boþ[e] hertes in oon forto perseuer*  
 Whiles pat þei liue, and *neuer to desseuer* » 1109.

A strong instance of this occurs in *Reson and S.* ; « *Mercurie* » comes to the author in order to know his opinion on the « doom of Daun Paris » and greets him thus :

I am « To the of purpose pleylnly sent  
 For to yive a Iugement » 1854 —

it is the author (thee) who is to « yive a Iugement », not Mercury himself ; again therefore the Infinitive refers to the object.

This is a very noteworthy construction ; it shows how little Lydgate's language cared for those nice shades of logic which are so important in modern speech.

I have not been able to detect a similar use of the Infinitive elsewhere ; it may very well be peculiar to Lydgate, and if so, would become very valuable as a typical feature of our monk's personal syntax and psychology.

Summing up of Results :

The chapter which is now coming to an end enables us to collect the following points : frequency of « forto' », in spite of its real value in full decay ; Nominative with Infinitive, Indefinite Infinitive (very thriving), « so ... to » with Infinitive, all common to Chaucer, Lydgate and Shaksperé ; Infinitival Reference to the object probably special to our author.

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## XI. — TENSES

There are some remarks to be made on the value of the various past tenses : preterite, perfect and past perfect.

### § 58. — THE PERFECT INSTEAD OF THE PRETERITE.

I could not look at the Temple when I approached it, says the author, because the sun shone too bright on it,

« Til atte last certain skyes doune  
Wiþ wind Ichaced *have her cours Iwent*  
To-fore þe stremes of Titan » 32.

Or again

« And so þe goddes, hering þis request  
As she þat knew þe clene entencion  
Of bope hem tweyne *haf made* a ful bihest » 1322  
(Pr = *made*).

Lydgate frequently uses the perfect tense in the same way : in *Reson and S.* we are told of Guillaume de Lorris that he

« drempþe in his slepyng  
How erly on A morwening  
He *was* vn-to this gardyn broght (« the Herber of Deduit »)  
And so longe aboute *hath soght*  
Til he fonde a smale wiket » 4824.

These two tenses are also confused in Chaucer, « Up *stirten* thanne the yonge folk at-ones, and the moste partie of that companye *han scorned* the olde wyse men » B 2225 (See also VII 352).

That the language had succeeded in establishing a sharper distinction between preterite and perfect before the end of the

century is shown by the prints once rightly substituting the former to the latter.

§ 59. — THE PERFECT INSTEAD OF THE PAST PERFECT.

Again in the review of unhappy lovers, Lydgate says :

« And some per were, as it is oft[e] found  
That for her ladi meny a blodi wounde  
*Endurid haþ* in mani regioun » 171 ;

C has « hadde » which is the logically requisite tense, while Berthelet only removes the old plural form in « th » and keeps the same tense : « haue ». After the lover's wooing of the lady :

« And whan pis benygne, of hir entent trwe  
*Conceyued haþ* þe compleint of pis man  
Of his colour to wexin she *bigan* » 1043  
(P = had).

In another identical case only the earliest MS., T, has the perfect ; all the others have the past perfect :

« And whan pis goodli faire fressh of hwe  
. . . . .  
*Conceyued haþ* how Venus gan to rwe » 456 (only in T).

Here is an illustration from *Reson and S* to show that this is a general use in Lydgate :

« And ryght anon whan ydelnesse  
Oonly of hir gentillesse  
*Hath me receyued* with glad chere  
. . . . .  
I saugh... » 4999.

Chaucer also says :

« Whan that Anelida this woful quene  
*Hath* of hir hande *writen* in this wyse  
. . . . .  
She *fel* a-swowe » VII 354.

We have seen how two MSS of about 1450 give each once a right past-perfect : this points to better discrimination ; however, the fact that the prints have no variants and especially that Berthelet leaves the tense unaltered when he substitutes another auxiliary for reasons of accident, is very significant.

Summing up of Results :

Same cases of imperfect distinction as in Chaucer.

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## XII. — THE RELATIVE

The first point we shall examine is the

### § 60. — OMISSION OF THE RELATIVE.

It is carried out to such an extent in Lydgate as would be tolerated at present in very colloquial speech only :

« and I telle shuld  
The inward myrþe dide hir hertis brace » 1290  
[G. S. P. b = *that* dide...];  
« For pere nys ping, nepir heigh ne lowe,  
Mai be concelid from þour privete » 795.

Sometimes a clause is suffered to intervene between the two words which the missing relative should link : I cannot help loving, says the Knight,

« The goodli fressh in þe tempil yonder  
I saugh riȝt nov » 578

i. e. « the goodly maid whom I saw just now in the Temple ».

All this is quite Chaucerian : what did Chanticleer do in the morning when he and his hens flew down from the beam ?

« And with a chuk he gan hem forto calle  
For he had founde a corn lay in the yerde » B 4365 ;

while the « ryotoures three » of the Pardoners Tale were sitting in the « taverne »

« they herde a belle clinke  
Biforn a cors was carried to his grave » C. 665.

With the words « tyme » « day » etc., Anglo Saxon uses « þe » ;

op þone dæg *þe* hi hine forbærnaþ » (Sweet's R. 4/144); Chaucer and Lydgate « pat » :

« And sith the tyme *that* Genivs  
Was down from the hevene sent » 6625;

but the latter mostly suppresses all connection, as in modern usage: « fro þe tyme I gan » 1009 (S = tyme pat...), « time shal come þou shalt for þi sufferance Be wele apaide » 1195.

As to the question of origin I cannot here possibly, though I should much like it, enter into the details of the kind of controversy which it has caused; it seems to me briefly that in this case again we should admit a psychologically natural development determined and furthered by external influence: the very rare and very limited instances which are found in A.S. only serve to prove that the psychological phenomenon which underlies such omissions (viz., that the antecedent and the relative pointing to the same object, the idea of both may very well be condensed into the former) was not unknown to English-speaking people before French influence; but it was under this influence that this germ developed into a frequent and wide-spread usage, such as we find in the xiii<sup>th</sup> century<sup>1</sup>. When people with whose turn of mind this psychological simplification agreed, came into contact with other men who could already say and write :

« Jamais n'iert hum plus volentiers le servet » (*Rol.* 2255),

what was only a peculiarity of mental conformation grew into a syntactical habit.

And this is how such lines as the above quoted from Chaucer and Lydgate cannot be said either to be due to French influence or to have nothing to do with it: they are the result of French influence on old English mentality.

As to subsequent history, let it suffice to mention that this omission kept its ground all through the xv<sup>th</sup> century and was quickened into new individuality by Elizabethan writers whom such a short and nervous construction was calculated to please.

1. See Kellner p. 64.

## § 61. — « THAT » = THAT WHICH, WHAT.

A striking feature and very frequent ; the lover at the beginning of his prayer to Venus :

« Have nou pite of *þat* I shal here tell » 707 ;

the lady « shewing hir quarel » to the goddess :

« For *þat* I nold is redy aye to me  
And *þat* I loue forto swe I drede » 352 :

« *What* I dislike is always near me and *what* I love I dare not seek ».

In the same passage :

« And so I wante of *þat* myn hert[e] would » 337.

Giving her « bille » to Venus, the lady says that she does it

« Redresse to find of *that* I me compleyne » 334

= to find amendment of that which I complain (myself) of ; (the « of » is in double function).

Similarly the lovers offer sacrifices to Venus

« Hem to relese of *þat* pei most desire » 544

= in order to be released of what they most desire (to be released of).

« For want of woordis I may not now atteyne  
To tell[en] half *þat* doþ myn hert[e] greue » 825.

(In this instance « half » is an adjective as often in A.S.)

The same use of « that » is also regularly found in Chaucer

« It semed hir, he wiste *that* she thoughte  
Withouten word » *Tr* III 465 ; B 2605.

So great was the community of soul between Troilus and Criseyde that it seemed to her as if he knew her thought (*what* she thought) before she spoke it — In Chaucer when « what » is found



(instead of « that ») it is because there is some shade of *indirect question*; for the same reason we find in our text

« So wisse me now *what* me is best to do » 637 (see 728).

But one instance shows that « what » has made some progress since Chaucer :

« *What* I desire, pat mai I not possede » 350.

Let us return to « pat », and try to see whence its use with the value of « what » comes. It comes from A. S : « Ac sōp is *þæt* ic secge » (Sw. R 16/39).

In Alfred's (?) *Bæda* (*Eccl. Hist.* IV 24), the original latin « At ille, suscepto negotio, abiit, et mane, rediens, optimo carmine quod jubebatur compositum reddidit » is translated « pā hē pā hæfde pā wisan onfangene, pā cōde hē hām tō his hūse, and cōm eft on morgen, and pȳ betstan lēoþe geglenged him āsong and āgeaf *þæt* him beboden wæs ».

This use is of the same kind as that of « pær » for « pær pær » (in Mn E : where, see § 16) and the explanation of it is no doubt to be found in the fact that, in A.S. and subsequently also, the word « that » is at once a demonstrative and a relative, so that, the strictly logical construction being « pæt pæt him beboden wæs », the two « pæt » s were contracted into one<sup>1</sup>. It appears therefore that this construction is at bottom a case of omission of the relative, brought about by the formal identity of the latter with the antecedent.

We know that « what » eventually supplanted « that » in such functions, but there are several instances of « that » as late as Shakspeare (Abbott, § 244).

## § 62. — « WHAT » = WHY.

In Lydgate « what » is almost as frequent as « why » (indeed,

1. « pæt pæt » is sometimes seen in A S : « gelaestan *þæt* *þæt* we bebētan pā we fulluht underfengan » (Sw. R. 16/223).

he is not given to interrogating and makes little use of either).

« Nou in pis mater *what* shuld I lengir dwel?  
*what* shuld I lengir tarie? » 1297;

as it happens, these instances are copies from a favourite Chaucerian parenthesis:

« What sholde I lenger in this tale tarien? » *Tr* II 1622 (B. 376).

But in Chaucer « what » is far more common than « why », (see *Tr* I 262, 292...) in all cases.

I could not discover « what » used exactly like this in e M E, but I think the stepping-stone to « what » meaning absolutely « why » (as in Chaucer) must have been the value given to the same word in instances like the following: « *Wat* belongep hit to me oper to pe, wyman »<sup>1</sup> (Morris S. 13/96. c. 1250); i. e. « *In what*, in what respect does it concern thee or me, woman » (Jesus to the Virgin at Cana). From this meaning to « why », it is not far to go.

On the whole, in both these senses, « what » is a kind of instrumental (in value, of course), and as we have seen « pat » representing the instrumental of « pæt », neuter of « sē »<sup>2</sup>, so does « what » now represent the instrumental of « hwæt », neuter of « hwā ». It is curious to think, by the side of all this, that « hwȳ » is but the instrumental of « hwā ».

The use of « what » for « why » was to last on at least till Shakspeare in whose works it occurs constantly (Abbott, § 253).

#### SOME SPECIAL FORMS OF THE RELATIVE

should now be examined and their origins sought out:

{ which pat  
 { who pat  
 pe which

1. « What » has exactly the same meaning in Mn E « *what* does it matter, *what* do I care? ».

2. See, § 14 b.

## § 63. — « WHICH pat » AND « WHO pat ».

These forms are sometimes found instead of the simple « who » and « which », without any difference of meaning :

« And wiþ þe noise and hevenli melodie  
Which *þat* þei made » 1363 (b = that); .

see « which » in a perfectly similar case :

« And ȝoure seruice so feipful eueredel  
Which vnto me so louli now ȝe offre » 1059.

Here is another « which pat » from *Reson and S* :

« the cheff princesse of kynde  
Which *that* called ys nature » 2235.

« Who pat » in

« O ladi Venus *whom þat* I have souȝt » 636 (Pr omit « pat »)  
is equivalent to « who » in, « To loue him best

*Whom* I haue bound so lowe vndir ȝoure cheine » 523.

In *Reson and S.*, there is much describing of

« The mayde of most excellence  
*Whom þat* Deduit, by my byddying  
Hath the charge of hir keping » 2602.

What is the nature and origin of « pat » in these relational compounds ?

In order to answer this question we should know something of their history : « who pat » is common in Chaucer (*H F* 1244; *Tr* 147, *Tr* IV 1335...); as to « which pat », it is the ordinary relative in Chaucer and occurs much more frequently than any other form :

« The castel-yate on my right hand  
Which *that* so wel corven was » *H F* 1295 ;

See also *H F* 1295, 1363, 1452 ; VII 12, 19, 50 ; *Tr* I 74, 84, 94, 423, 426, 453, etc., etc.

There does not appear to be, in Chaucer either, any distinction between the simple forms « who » « which », and the compounds « who that, which that ».

Not a single instance earlier than the xiv<sup>th</sup> century has come to my knowledge, and I have no doubt that both these relatives are of I. M E formation. If we remember that « who » up to the xiv<sup>th</sup> century was but sparingly used as a relative and then only in the oblique case, that « which » was unknown except as an interrogative adjective or pronoun, the whole case becomes clear to us : when these words were first promoted to the rank of relatives, their aptitude to be used as such, their binding-power was not yet firm and acknowledged, and consequently the language cast about for some strengthener ; « that » was chosen for this purpose as being the relative of oldest standing and best-grounded binding-power ; in short, « pat » in « who pat » is a relational affix just as it is a conjunctive affix in « when pat » (see, § 15a). The nature of a compound like « who pat » or « which pat » can be described as follows : « which » and « who » are mere pronouns, repetitions of the antecedent, and « pat » is the real relative, the real binder of the combination.

This mode of forming relatives had already been practised in A.S. : the very common compound relative « sē pe » is syntactically identical with « who pat » or « which pat », « sē » being a pronoun which repeats the antecedent, and « pe » the regular A.S. relative : « se rihtwisa Dēma cymþ, sē pe hine on ūrne gefērscepe purh flæscas gecynd gemengde » (*Cura Pastoralis* XXI 257) would certainly have been translated by Chaucer, had he known Anglo-Saxon, « the rihtwis Iuge comth, *which that...* ».

Notice that, as « pat » is a *free* conjunctive affix, so is it a free relational one : « who » and « which » occur, though less frequently (in Chaucer) side by side with « who pat » and « which pat ». However indispensable it may have been at first, its necessity soon ceased to be absolute and it became an extra finishing touch which Chaucer, for instance, is generally careful enough to add, but omits when more convenient.

« That » was afterwards kept, probably more from tradition and as a convenient line-filler than out of any feeling that it was

useful, all through the xv<sup>th</sup> century and even far into the xvi<sup>th</sup>, very likely then as a conscious archaism. Abbott (§ 250) gives an instance from Ingelend (1560) and says it is rare in Elizabethan authors.

§ 64. — « *pe which(e)* ».

« Me did oppresse a sodein dedeli slepe  
Wip-in *þe which* me pouȝt[e] þat I was  
Rauysshid in spirit in a temple of glas » 16.

Venus, giving the lady a branch of hawthorn, says

« Bep of oon hert and of o fantasie  
As are pese leues *þe which* mai not die » 514.

Some more quotations will be useful, the better to illustrate the use of « *pe which* » :

« For hyt ys she *þe whiche* in soth (Venus)  
Kan, whan hir lyst, both nyghe and ferre,  
Pes I-tournen into werre » *R. S.* 1492

« And, sothly, ther my wey gan  
*The whiche*, shortly to devyde,  
Strecched toward the ryghte syde » 2724 (see also 2758).

« The whiche » is to be found in Chaucer, but not very commonly ; one instance will serve to show that its use is the same in both authors :

« These vers of gold and blak y-written were,  
*The whiche* I gan a stounde to beholde » *V* 142.

What special functions are assigned to « the which(e) » among other relatives ?

The following statement is borne out by all the instances which I could find and collect both in Chaucer and in Lydgate : « the which(e) » is always more or less equivalent to « and this (antecedent) ... » ; in other words the clause which this relative introduces can be rendered by a co-ordinate one with strong recall of the antecedent : « a sudden sleep overtook me, and in

this sleep I dreamt... » ; « there my way began, and this way led to the right » etc. In line 1490 of *Reson and S.* (already quoted), Lydgate translates « *C'est celle qui...* » by « Hyt ys she *the whiche* ».

This special function of « the which » is very well illustrated in contradistinction to « which » and « that » by the following passage : In a certain forest, we are told, are trees which bear golden apples

« As whilom in the gardyn was  
*Which* longed to the strong Athlas  
 And also eke to hercules  
*That* was of strengthe pereles  
 . . . . .  
*The whiche*, by his wily sleyght,  
 Bar away the ryche fruyt... » 2759.

The clauses introduced by « which » and « that » are both similar and ordinary subordinate ones, but the other clause which gives us new and essential information about Hercules, has to be introduced by « the whiche ».

All that has just been said on the use of « *pe which(e)* » can be summed up thus : « *pe which(e)* » is, from the first (it is of I. ME. formation) the least hypotactic and the most particularising of all English relatives.

The question of the origins of « *pe which* » and of its possible connection with French « *lequel* » (OF. *liquel*) is far too difficult and intricately involved with problems concerning the nature of foreign influence, to be despatched here in a few pages.

#### § 65. — « THAT », « WHICH (THAT) » AND « WHO (THAT) ».

Is there any difference to be noticed in the use of these three relatives ?

Constant comparison of instances has led me to many a surmise, but to no certainty, not even to any surmise which facts did not eventually utterly explode : beyond the fact that « who » rarely refers to things, no discrimination seems to exist. Indeed to all appearance the question is rather one of partiality for one relative or another than of regular and established distinctions.

We have already seen how Chaucer prefers « which that » to any other relative :

- « In every peril which that is to drede. » *Tr* I 84  
 « His doughter which that was in gret penaunce, » *Ibid.* 94  
 « Allas ! he which that is my lord so dere, » *Tr* II 330  
 « A-cursed be the day which that nature  
 Shoop me to ben a lyves creature » *Tr* IV 252.

These quotations show « which that » each time in different surroundings and position ; so that it is predominant in all cases and the most frequent relative in Chaucer.

But Lydgate's partiality is for « pat » : it occurs in every case, except when a dative relative is wanted : then, and almost exclusively then, « who » and « which » with prepositions are used : « she for whom pou soroist » 866. The result is that there are twice more instances of « that » in our text, than of all other relatives put together ; here are a few in which Lydgate's preference for « that » is visible :

- « On hir *þat* whilom he callid his ladi dere  
*That* was to him so plesaunt and entere » 220

- « So mai I sain, *þat* with a loke am yold » 623

- « Honor to ȝow of all pat bene here-inne  
*That* haue pis man his ladi made to winne » 1354

- « And some per were as maydens ȝung of age  
*That* pleynd sore » 180 (see 152, 157, 159, 163, 166,  
 [170, 199, 203])

- « ... pei were coupled, againes all nature  
*Wip* croked elde, *þat* mai not long endure » 182.

In conclusion, I think it can be said with certainty, that, in the xiv<sup>th</sup> and early xv<sup>th</sup> centuries, the three relatives had not yet coexisted long enough for each to be specialised to any case or group of cases, and that the work of specialisation was only done in after-years and gradually.

§ 66. — RELATIVE SUBORDINATION INSTEAD OF DEMONSTRATIVE  
CO-ORDINATION.

It has already been shown how the peculiar value of « *pe which* » could be approximately rendered by « and + pronoun » : we shall now see ordinary relatives (*who* and *which*) introducing clauses which not only could, but must perforce, be interpreted as if they were co-ordinate, since they are unintelligible otherwise.

Venus « *caste adowne* » upon the lady's lap « *braunchis white and grene Of haweporn,*

And bade hir kepe hem honestli and clene  
*Which shul not fade ne nevir wexin old*  
If she hir bidding kepe as she haþ told » 509

which means « Venus bade the lady keep them with due reverence ; and, if she does so, they will never fade ».

In line 271 (the passage is unhappily too long to be quoted) « *whos sonnysh here...* » means « and her sunny hair... ». But *Reson and Sensuallyte* supplies less unwieldy illustrations :

« This ilke god of which I telle (Mercury)  
Of shap and beaute did excelle,  
*Of whom* the face was yong and whyte,  
To be-holde of gret delyte,  
And al *his* membres lower doune  
Of ryght good proporsion,  
His eyen gray, his nose longe... » 1715.

It is evident that « of whom » = « and his » ; and in fact, it is thus that the next clause (exactly parallel to that which « of whom » introduces) begins : « And al *his* membres... » 1713.

Of Mercury also Lydgate says :

« And he hath also wynges tweyn,  
Fressh and shene and nothing pale,  
To fleen both on hille and wale,  
Lych hys desire on mont and pleyn ;  
*Of whos* abood is non certeyn,  
So swift ys he in his passage » 1821



« Of whos » clearly means « and of his... » For similar instances in the same poem, see l. 1371 ; 1576 ; 6800 ; 4042 ; 4281.

I have up to now found no similar use of the relative in Chaucer or earlier ; but, on the other hand, subsequent English, especially of the Elizabethan period, affords ample illustration : it abounds in Shakspeare : « I leave him to your gracious acceptance ; *whose* trial shall better publish his commendation » (*M. V.* iv 1165) ; « whose trial » means « and his trial » exactly as in Lydgate. See another passage in which « who » is equivalent to « and he » :

« Now presently I'll give her father notice  
Of their disguising and pretended flight ;  
*Who*, all enraged, will banish Valentine » (*TG. of V.*  
[II. 6. 38].

For further illustration see Abbott § 263.

The rightful and grammatical existence of our construction is therefore confirmed by posterior history. As to the question of origin, I am afraid it cannot be so easily settled. It is true Kellner (from whom I borrow a name for the present construction) says undoubtedly that « it is due to the influence of the Latin » ; but he also acknowledges that « there are faint beginnings of this imitation in the last centuries of the Middle English period ». Now, the instances above quoted from Lydgate are not at all « faint beginnings », they on the contrary represent a fully developed construction. Are we to admit, can we safely assert, a fully developed Latin imitation as early as the beginning of the xv<sup>th</sup> century ? I should very much like to be able to say « yes », but I cannot help thinking that such an imitation is, at the very least, extremely doubtful.

I have looked in vain for this construction in early French ; but instances are to be found no later than the first half of the xvi<sup>th</sup> century : « A ceste parolle, Parleme[n]te l'entendit très bien ; *qui se print à tousser* » ( « *L'Heptaméron* de Marguerite de Navarre » fin du prologue ; c. 1540)

#### § 67. — INDEFINITE USE OF « WHO ».

This is a very well-known phenomenon ; nevertheless, it

admits of two widely different constructions which it is necessary most carefully to distinguish: 1<sup>st</sup>, the subject of the subordinate clause is the same as that of the principal one (with or without repetition of this subject by means of a pronoun at the beginning of the 2<sup>nd</sup> clause). Such is the case in « who touches pitch, he shall be defiled », i. e. « whoever touches pitch, shall be defiled ». There is nothing remarkable or psychologically unusual in such a use of « who » and we need not wonder at finding that it is common in Old French (« qui molt est las, il se dort contre terre » *Rol.* 2294) as well as in Anglo-Saxon (we find *hwā* = anyone, in « Dyslic biþ þæt *hwā* woruldlice spēda forhogige » Sw's R. 13/64); it has moreover been preserved in both languages and appears in our own text:

« For *who þat* wil of his preve peyne  
 Fulli be cured, his life to help and saue  
*He* most mekeli..... » 915 (b omits « He »).

But far more interesting is the 2<sup>nd</sup> construction, in which the subjects are different; we could hardly find a better illustration of this than in our text:

« For, in abiding of wo and al affray,  
*Whoso can suffre*, is founden remedie » 1090.

These two lines may be thus paraphrased « Remedy is obtained by patiently enduring, that is, *if one is strong enough to bear long suffering* ».

Again, on the same theme:

« For, *who can suffre turment and endure*,  
 Ne mai not faile þat folov shal his cure » 882.

i. e. « If one is able to bear and endure torment, then his recovery will not fail to come<sup>1</sup> ».

This was so familiar a construction with Lydgate that he selected

1. See, under Clause-Order, a difficult passage in which this idiom is part of the difficulty, and a neat instance in *Reson and S.* 3868.

it for one of his usual stop-gap clauses : the names of Cupid's arrows, we are told (in *Reson and S.*)

« Be rehersed ceriously  
In the Rose, *who taketh hede* » 5443 ;

the meaning of this little parenthesis is accurately given to us by another form which it sometimes assumes :

« The errour and contrariouste  
That ys in love, *yif thou take hede* » 4347.

We are also informed that Pallas was crowned in heaven by Jupiter,

« Ther by for to signifye,  
*Who that truly can espere,*  
That verray wysdam hath no delyt » 1235

in worldly things ; the number of such little by-the-way remarks, in which our idiom regularly occurs is incredible ; (see Sieper's Introduction to *Reson and S.* p. 54 for a tolerably full list).

The reader perceives by this time the very peculiar nature of this construction wherein « who » has rigorously the same value as « If[any]one... » or « Provided that[any]one... ».

It is not by any means so commonly that « who » is given this value in Chaucer, and then, it generally appears as « who-so » (which, however, does not in the least alter the idiosyncrasies of the construction) :

« I am oon the fayreste, out of drede,  
And goodlieste, *who-so taketh hede* ; » T. II 747.

« But *who-so wolde considere* in alle vengeance the perils and yveles that mighte sewe of vengeance-takinge, *a man* wolde never take vengeance, and that were harm » B 2620.

I could not find any instance earlier than the XIV<sup>th</sup> century, and of course, no such value was ever given to « hwā » in A. S. ; but, on the contrary, « qui » often has the meaning of « si qui que ce soit... » in early French, at least as far back as the XIII<sup>th</sup> century ; we meet with it in the *Roman de la Rose* and the English

version duly translates « who... » ; « Youthe » and her « lemman » kiss repeatedly in the garden; so that all the « daunce » could see them ; but they care not :

« Car, *qui d'aus deus tenoï parole*, | « For, *who spak of hem yvel or wel*,  
 Il n'en fussent ja vergondeux ». | They were ashamed never-a-del » 1296.

It is therefore probable that « who = if any one » is due to French influence ; but let us not forget that, here again, the admission of this idiom into English was made easy by the fact that, from the first, « hwā » was readily used with indefinite meaning.

This value of « who », which we found a favourite in Lydgate, was hardly to outlive the century, though it is still vigorous in Caxton : « And I promyse you, that, who shall hange Richarde, I shall goo to Reynawde and shall put myself in hys pryson » *Aymon*. 326 23 (Kellner § 133)

#### Summing up of Results :

1. Omission of the Relative as bold as in Chaucer — « That » = that which, a special case of relational omission, still common.
  2. « That » becomes rarer as a relational affix.
  3. « The which » used as in Chaucer.
  4. « That » and no longer « which that » is the preferred relative.
  5. First appearance of Relational Subordination instead of Demonstrative Co-ordination.
  6. « Who » = if any one, develops into a much-beloved usage.
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## PART II

### WORD-ORDER

There are two kinds of Word-Order. The first kind belongs essentially to Syntax : it represents the order in which the language at a given time considered that the constituent parts of a sentence should appear so as to express thought most appropriately ; it is sometimes as fixed as the conjugation or regimen of a verb : no Anglo-Saxon, for instance, could possibly have said : « Mære is se God ꝥe Daniël *belieff* on », because there is a rule in A. S. which requires that the preposition should precede the verb in dependent sentences. The second kind of word-order has more to do with Style than with Syntax ; it is constituted by certain habits which do not amount to a rule, but are mostly adopted ways of solving difficulties of arrangement ; Shakspeare, for instance, would sometimes more willingly say : « Our *suffering* country *under a hand accurst* » than « Our country suffering under a hand accurst ».



## 1. — SYNTACTICAL WORD-ORDER

The study of the Syntactical Word-Order in an author of the early xv<sup>th</sup> century is of the utmost importance, for at that time we are near the critical period when the modern analytical order succeeded the old involved one.

### § 68. — PLACE OF THE ADJECTIVE.

Adjectives often follow their noun in our text. When there are two epithets to a noun, the inverted order is especially frequent, chiefly at the end of a line :

The lovers kneel before Venus « with compleint woful and pitous »  
51

« braunchis white and grene » 504

« floures sote and soft as silk » 540

« dovues faire and white » 541

but it is also common with single adjectives,

« Greet pres of folk with murmur wondirful » 533,  
even with short ones :

« Theffect of which was this in wordys fewe » 320

« ... to loue pingis nwe » 452

and in the middle of a line

« And hertes high pat hauteyn ben of pride » 323.

All this is quite Chaucerian ; let it suffice to quote « a place hye » *HF* 1133.

French influence is not absolutely necessary to account for such inverted order, for we find in A. S. poetry « here-stræl hearde » (*Bēow.* 1435) and similar instances. Notice that « wordys

fewe » « þingis nwe » etc. could hardly be met with after the xv<sup>th</sup> century when the last syllable in « wordys » and « þingys » ceased to be pronounced, for, while « hertēs high » sounds well enough, « hearts high » is intolerable in verse. On the whole the licence which reigns in l. M. E. as regards violating the natural order decreased considerably in the course of the xvi<sup>th</sup> century. Most of the instances of inverted order which occur in Shakspeare concern emphatic or French and Latin polysyllabic adjectives (Abbott, § 419).

### § 69. — PLACE OF THE PREPOSITION.

a) With regard to the word it governs.

The A. S. order is sometimes preserved, that is, the preposition is sometimes placed after the word it governs (him betwēonan, him tō...):

« So pat I myst... biholden me aboute » 34

« ... as she welk hem among » 140.

This is frequent in Chaucer (A. 2952, HF 60, etc. and not unknown in Shakspeare (Abbott, § 203).

b) In dependent sentences

The preposition is thrown forward not to the end of the sentence, but *before the verb*:

« A creature... so goodli *on* to se » 269

« The fruyt of thys Ilke tre

Which that I to forn *of* spake » R. and S. 3999

« ... thys fruyt which I *of* telle » Id. 4417

« Alle tho that ever I koude *of* rede » Id. 4565, etc.<sup>1</sup>

Such also is the order in Chaucer :

« that swete wight

That is so semely *on* to see » III 1177

« ... al the gestes for to here

« That they *of* write... » HF 1519, etc.

1. This is, of course, quite general in L.'s time ; see Hoccleve's *Minor poems* Ed. Furnivall :

So welwas him that I *with* wolde fare . (*Male Regle* l. 198)



and in A. S.: « *pæt hūs pe hē inne wunode* » (Sweet's *Primer*, p. 52).

But we once find in our text :

« I hade lost pe siȝt  
Of hir pæt I, all pe long[e] nyȝt  
Had *dremed of* » 1374.

The Chaucerian order would be « ... that I of had dremed », and our instance points to the appearance of the modern arrangement as early as the beginning of the xv<sup>th</sup> century ; its triumph is complete and exclusive in Shakspeare :

« Ten thousand men that fishes gnawed upon » *Rich III*, l. 4. 25,

whereas now the language seems gradually to prefer a thoroughly analytical disposition, viz., the preposition is placed before the relative pronoun which it is made to govern like any substantive or pronoun : we would rather write « These are facts on which you can ground a theory » than « These are facts which you can ground a theory on ».

Notice that the new analytical arrangement was impossible in A. S., and before « which » and « who » came in as relative pronouns, for « *pe* » in A. S. and « that » subsequently, are not pronouns but mere particles which cannot possibly be governed by a preposition.

## § 70. — PLACE OF THE ANOMALOUS NEGATION « NOT » (See § 50)

The anomalous « not », instead of being kept after the verb, where the disappearance of its partner « ne » naturally left it, was often drawn back and placed before it :

« And if so be pæt I *not oute breke* » 662

« pæt she *not disdeyne* » 734

« Who dooth by counseyle *not repenteth* » *R. and S.* 4196.

The same tendency appears in Hoccleve : « I *not can* » (*Minor Poems* Ed. Furnivall, p. 28 l. 101), « I *not wold herkne* » (p. 33, l. 263), « *not tel I can the tyme* » (p. 35, l. 325), « Whoso *not spekith* » (p. 37, l. 434), « I *not confesse* » (p. 44, l. 22), « my spirit *not dar* » (l. 42)

« For to hir helthe *not she dar* hir dresse » (p. 45, l. 48)

On this last line, Furnivall has a foot-note: « Why not « she dar not » ? » ; and the question may well be asked.

One explanation can be suggested: when « ne » began to be more and more frequently dropped, the instinctive craving for emphasis on the negation (the same which had prompted the early Middle Englishman to adopt the reinforced « ne ... noht » as usual negation) caused a sentence like « whoso spekith not » to look poor and weak; probably also there was a vague traditional feeling that the proper place of a negation was before the verb (where « ne » had always been and was still, not unfrequently, at the time): so that, to say « whoso not spekith » satisfied the old desire for emphasis by making « not » conspicuous, and at the same time sounded better and righter, because « not » was thus found where « ne » used to be.

The order which was brought about in the way just described, lasted on till Shakspeare:

« I not doubt » *Temp.* II, 1121

« Whereof the ewe not bites » *Ibid.* V. 138, etc.

« Neat Terence, witty Plautus, now not please »

(Ben J. on Shak.)<sup>1</sup>.

#### § 71 a. — PLACE OF THE AUXILIARY.

The auxiliary is almost regularly placed after the infinitive or participle in A. S. (geweorc geworht hæfdon *Chron.* 893; gif hie ænigne feld sēcan wolden *Ibid.*; būtan pām monnum pe pā burga healdan scolden *Ibid.* etc., etc.); this is frequent still in our text:

« ... him, for whom al hir distresse

*Continued had »* 374 (also 456, 1041)

« And mani a stori, mo pen I rekin can » 91 (also 560)

« If I pe soth ariȝt report shal » 43

« ... where he hir find shuld » 242 (also 1289)

« ... pis ladi sighen gan ful sore » 527, etc., etc.

It is a capital fact that, though such instances are common in

1. See Abbott, § 305 « Do » omitted before « not » — Such is Abbott's heading; but « do » in negative sentences *did not exist* (§ 49) when this order began.

Chaucer's poetical works (5 285, etc., etc.), hardly any occur in his prose: I have found none in the Tale of Melibeus and the Persones Tale<sup>1</sup>; the old order had therefore become, by Chaucer's time already, no more than a poetical licence. Exception is to be made, however, for the auxiliary « to be ».

§ 71 *b.* — PLACE OF « TO BE ».

In our text « to be » is nearly always found after the participle or adjective, as in A. S. :

- « How she deceyued was of Eneas » 58  
 « How Philomene into a nystyngale  
 Iturned was » 99  
     « til pei bi Theseus  
 Acordid were » 110  
 « The feipful menyng and pe Innocence  
 That planted bene... » 379  
 « Thurgh whos falsnes hindred be pe trwe » 168.

See also 18, 116, 132, 309, 323, etc.

The same order is predominant in Chaucer's poetical works :

- « How Ilioun assailed was » *H F* 258 (Id. 167, 173, etc.);

it is not rare even in his prose : « Whan Melibeus *retourned was* into his hous » B 2163, « weping is nothing defended to him that *sorweful is* » Id. 2178 « lat nat thyne eyen *to moyste been* of teres » Id. 2181 « And whan this folk togidre *assembled weren* » Id. 2197, etc.

The A. S. position of « to be » was therefore retained at least as late as Chaucer (both in principal and dependent sentences, the reader has noticed) not as a poetical licence, but as a regular Syntactical order. Why was « to be » thus specially treated ? Simply because it is the most abstract of all verbs ; and it is only a very refined development of analytical habits, such as English had not yet attained, which can require that a weak copula like « to be », of so little value to the sense, and indicating but

1. For the Word-Order it would be very interesting to study Lydgate's prose work : *The Serpent of Division* 1400.

an abstract logical connection, should come before such words as an adjective or a participle which are the kernel of a sentence, and bring out nearly the whole of its matter-of-fact and, as it were, tangible import.

A frequent use of the old order will not be found after the xv<sup>th</sup> century, even in poetry; it is very rare in Shakspeare and always in dependent sentences:

« By Richard that dead is » *Henry IV*, I 3, 46

The following instance is a conscious archaism, as the very title shows:

« Ah! could I tell the wonders of an isle  
That in that fairest lake had *placed been* »  
(Keats, *Imitation of Spenser*).

#### §. 72. — PLACE OF THE OBJECT.

a) the object is a noun.

In A. S. the object is frequently before the verb (*micel wæl geslōgon and sige nāmon Chron.* 851) and the same order is not rare in our text:

« For she so long *hir lord* ne myst[e]se » 68  
« And (pei) prayed Venus *hir pouer* forto kipe » 194  
« For holi saintis, puru; her passioun  
Haue *heuen* Iwonne for her souerain mede » 415  
« ... if þe spirit of nv fangilnes  
In any wise *þoure hertis* would assaile » 1244, etc.

This is equally well known in Chaucer's poems and also in his prose: « by whiche thinges I may *my persone* and *myn hous* so kepen and defenden that myne enemys shul been in drede *myn hous* for to approche » B 2524 (also 2203, 2216, etc.).

Such order disappears from prose after M. E. times, but continues a usual poetical license in Elizabethan authors:

« Your presence to behold » Peele (See Kellner, § 460)

in l. M. E., both prose and poetry, it is used only when the object is emphatic.

b) the object is a pronoun.

In this case, the object precedes the verb in A.S. (*hiene man ofslōg*) and such is also the rule in our poem :

« *hov pe bore him* slough » 65

« when he did *hir* sue » 119

« *ȝe shul be wel* relenyd

I *ȝov* bihote of al pat hap *ȝov* greued » 383

« Yow pankyng euer of *ȝour* graunt and hest

Bop nou and euer, pat *ȝe me* grace haue sent » 499

« *dispeire* ginnep *me* to lere

A nwe lessoun » 657

« til *hem* departed depe » 781

« let hir *me* sustene » 814.

This last instance means of course « let her sustain me », but the prints *misunderstood*, since they all have « let me her sustene » ;

« lich as she *me* hurt wip a siȝte » 813,

here, Berthelet introduces the modern order : « She hurt me ».

With reflexive verbs :

they « gan *hem* to delite » 542

« Him to complein » 552

« Me to refressh » 547, etc., etc.

As our text affords no instance with « hyt » I adduce one from *Reson and S* :

« he hyt gat » 4316.

The old order is almost invariably found in Lydgate, and it is no poetical license, for, on the one hand, Chaucer's prose uses it : « with amiable wordes *hir* to reconforte » B 2168, « it *him* conserveth » *Ibid.* 2184, « and *yow* governe after hir sentence » Id, 2192, etc., etc., and besides it is also met with in Pecoock : « Holi Scripture *it* not dooth » (*Repressor* II) « he not *hem* groundith » *Ibid.* (See Kellner, § 461).

After the xv<sup>th</sup> century, the old order grows very rare in prose, unusual and consciously archaic in poetry. Our two variants are very significant in this respect : one indicates confusion even in

Caxton's time and the other shows downright objection to the A.S. order on the part of Berthelet, who substitutes the modern one.

### Summing up of Results :

Let us first put down as points which are not connected with the general change from involved to analytical order, that the usual syntactical position of the adjective with regard to the noun is more extensively departed from in Chaucer and Lydgate than MnE was to allow, and that the anomalous negation is often placed before the verb from Lydgate to Shakspeare.

From this Chapter we can conclude that Lydgate's Syntactical word-order is still to a very large extent the involved Anglo-Saxon one : the preposition sometimes follows the word it governs, and always appears before the verb in dependent sentences except in one isolated instance which points to the impending new disposition ; the auxiliary frequently follows the verb ; « to be » nearly always follows the participle or adjective ; when a substantive, the object commonly precedes the verb and almost invariably when it is a pronoun.

As to the question of how far this predominance of involved order is peculiar to poetry, it can safely be said<sup>1</sup> by inference from Chaucer and from prose writers posterior to Lydgate, that the same instances of the old order, probably less frequent however, are characteristic of the usual language of the early xv<sup>th</sup> century ; exception is to be made in one case only, viz., the auxiliary following the verb, which is not found in Chaucer's prose.

It is strange to think that we are only one hundred years distant from e. MnE, at the beginning of which the analytical arrangement obtains : in that respect chiefly was the xv<sup>th</sup> century a period of very speedy transition.

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1. A minute and detailed answer is only to be arrived at through the study of *The Serpent of Division*.

## II. — STYLISTIC WORD-ORDER

### § 73. — ADJECTIVAL PHRASES.

When an adjective has to be defined by an adverbial determinant, a difficulty arises, which we find solved in the following way in Lydgate :

« *Vip quaking hert of myn inward drede* » 978

the adjective is placed before, and the adverbial determinant after the noun.

A well-known tale is told in *Reson and S.* about

« *The crafty man Pigmalion  
To grave in metal and in ston* » 4266.

The same solution is adopted by Chaucer : « these trespasours and *repentyng*e folk of *here folyes* » I 110, and met with as early as the beginning of the xiv<sup>th</sup> century, in the *Cursor Mundi* (see Kellner, § 466); it is on the other hand common in Elizabethan authors :

« *Bear our hacked targets like the men that owe them* »  
(*A. and Cl.* IV 8. 31);

for further illustration from Lord Surrey, Spenser, Beaumont and Fletcher, and Shakspeare, see Abbott, § 419 *a*.

So that this was looked upon as a good way out of the difficulty from the xiv<sup>th</sup> to the xvii<sup>th</sup> century; but late Modern Englishmen have decided in behalf of another disposition : they put both adjective and adverbial determinant after the noun, and also prefer in many cases to use a relative clause.

### § 74. — TWO NOUNS CONNECTED BY « OF ».

The two groups, 1<sup>st</sup> noun, of + 2<sup>nd</sup> noun, are frequently inverted

in their order and anything may intervene between them :

« ..... I saugh pere of *Cartage*  
 Dido *þe quene*..... » 56  
 « of wo I haue plente » 349  
 « Also *þe turment* pere coude no man akoye<sup>1</sup>  
 Of *Dorigene*... » 410 (see also 444).

In *Reson and S.* the author says he would not disobey Venus

« To wynnyn euery pounde and marke  
 That the kyng hath of *Denmarke* » 2712.

Such connections are treated with similar freedom in Chaucer :

« For on that other syde I sey  
 Of this hille » *H F.* 1152 ;  
 Troilus was « the king Priamus sone of *Troye* » *Tr* I 2 ;  
 Phillis « The kinges doghter was of *Trace* » *H F.* 391, etc.

These are of course poetical licenses, but they nevertheless imply a wonderfully pliant stylistic word-order, and no Mn E poet, not even a Tudor one, could ever make so free with the more rigid sequence of words which has reigned ever since M. E.

#### § 75. — TWO SUBJECTS TO ONE VERB.

When two subjects are to be connected with the same verb, the 2<sup>nd</sup> is generally placed after the common verb which is not repeated :

« al hir distresse  
 Continued had and al hir heuynes » 374.

Such is the way in which similar cases are traditionally treated all through A. S. and M. E. times :

« and æfter pam Hengest fēng to rice, and Aesc his sunu »  
*Chron* 455  
 « He suanc and swet and eue his wif » *Cursor Mundi* 1047  
 « his honoure sholde be kepte and his body agenst hym »  
 Caxton, *Blanchardyn* 48, 19.

The object of this curious arrangement appears to have been

1. = allay.



the following : it was desirable that the verb should not have to be expected too long, so that it should not be lost sight of, as might have happened if the two subjects had been placed before it.

Notice that even to a modern mind, which, being more analytical, has no fear lest an important word should be missed because it did not come soon enough, the above disposition seems ingenious and excellent : heaviness and confusion are at once avoided by simply putting the two subjects each on one side of the verb with which they are to be taken as united. However, the old order was soon dropped : it is but very exceptional even in the first years of Mn E ; and a rather heavy, but strictly analytical arrangement has been ever since universally adopted : the two subjects must directly follow each other and precede their verb.

§ 76. — TWO VERBS TO ONE OBJECT.

When two verbs have the same object, the 2<sup>nd</sup> is placed after the common object which is not repeated :

« For euer of loue *pe* maner and *pe* guyse  
Is *forto hurt* his seruant and *to wounde* » 420

« Wherso *3e* list *to saue* him or *to spill* » 439

« Hou maist *pou* nov so cruelli and narowe  
With-onte cause *hurt* me and *wound* » 601 ;

« drede and daunger

Haue *ouerþrowe* my trust and *put adoune* » 647

« For who can *suffre* turment and *endure* » 881 etc.

So habitual is this order with Lydgate that he uses it even when the relation of the 1<sup>st</sup> verb with the common object is widely different from that of the 2<sup>nd</sup> verb with the same :

« certein skyes doune  
Wip wind Ichaced, haue her cours *Iwent*  
To-fore *pe* stremes of Titan and *Iblent* » 32 ;

« *pe* stremes of Titan » is a *circumstantial* object of « *Iwent* » and a *direct* object of « *Iblent* », but we nevertheless find the

same arrangement, so that the passage means « certain dark clouds drifted across the sun and blinded[it] ».

Such is the traditional order :

« (se here) *gesæt pæt lond and gedælde* » *Chron.* 880

« Als ye haue *sene* inogh and *herd* » *Cursor Mundi* 92

« But yit will I *cry* for mercy and *calle* » *Townley M.* 21.

The same things might be said as on the preceding arrangement : the aim in view is at once narrowly to link each verb with the common object, and not to let the hearer or reader perilously (for his comprehension of the sentence) in suspense as to what this object is going to be ; the process by which this is attained is the same : the object is given an intermediate position between both verbs.

In spite of its fitness, this order was rejected, because it went against the analytical Mn.E bent of mind ; we now can choose between letting both verbs precede their object, or recalling the latter after the 2<sup>nd</sup> verb by means of a pronoun.

#### § 77. — THE OLD ARRANGEMENT IN ADJECTIVAL PHRASES ACCOUNTED FOR.

Let us now consider the arrangement of Adjectival Phrases, such as we have seen it practised from the *Cursor Mundi* to Shakspeare, in the light of what our last two paragraphs have revealed, viz, that the chief object of the old Stylistic word-order is to bring as close together as possible words which must be understood as linked. Take the sentence « I want to speak about Pygmalion, crafty at engraving stone and metal » ; this would hardly do with us : we should prefer a relational clause ; but it could not do at all with Middle Englishmen : « crafty » is carried away from « Pygmalion » by the following clause, and crafty should be linked with « Pygmalion » ; so « Pygmalion » steps in between « crafty » and the clause, heedless of analytical relations which late Modern Englishmen have been trained to perceive and observe by all means<sup>1</sup> ; and thus we have the

1. This is Dr. Abbott's account (§ 419 a).

M. E order « crafty Pygmalion to grave in metal and in ston ».  
Summing up of Results :

From this Chapter it is apparent that the Stylistic word-order, like the more important and wider-reaching Syntactical one, has passed in course of time from involved to analytical arrangement, from aiming chiefly at bringing out the matter-of-fact connections so that they might be grasped at once, to requiring an exact and minute agreement with the subtle abstractions of logic.

It is remarkable that in one case, that of Adjectival phrases, the involved order was kept for over a century after the beginning of Mn. E times.

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## PART III

### CLAUSE-ORDER

The various kinds of clauses have attained their modern form by Lydgate's time ; the only exception to be made is in connection with relative clauses in which the redundant personal pronoun belonging to the old type of the clause (Cf Kellner, § 118) is occasionally found :

— « For he pat hap myn hert[e] feipfully

I haue no space wip *him* forto be » 366

« For he pat is in myschef recheles

To sechen help I hold *him* but a wreech » 919.

This remnant was not to disappear till over two centuries had elapsed : Kellner gives instances from Caxton, and Abbott (§ 249) from Shakspeare.

But, on the other hand, the arrangement of the clauses in a complete sentence is not found to possess the order and precision which are required by modern ideas of logic ; and this is quite in accordance with the general progress towards logical refinement from A. S. to l. Mn E. But in the case of Lydgate, we have also to take into account the good monk's personal tendencies : he seems to have cared for « aureate » epithets and fervent descriptions, for earnest moralisings with learned and majestic words and commonplaces, but for neat, terse and well-balanced sentences he certainly cared not at all ; his clauses run headlong, shuffling and entangled in proportion as the idea is intricate, and it was mostly so with poor John, whom Schick ungraciously characterises as « muddle-pated » (Introduction to *T. of Gl.* p. cxxxvi).

Perhaps I may be allowed to quote a long passage in order to

show what this clause-confusion really is, and how, though difficult to follow, it becomes clearer than some editors think, when some attention is bestowed upon it:

« For be my trouth myn hert shal not reneye  
For life ne dep merci ne daunger  
Of wil and pouȝt to ben at hir desire »

(Stanza 42)

« To bene as trwe as was Antonyus  
To Cleopatre, while him lasted breȝe  
Or vnto Tesbe ȝunge Piramus  
Was feipful found til hem departid deȝe  
Riȝt so shal I til Antropos me sleiȝe  
For wele or wo hir faithful man be found  
Vnto my last lich as myn hert is bounde »

43

« To loue as wel as did Achilles  
Vnto his last ȝe faire Polixene  
Or as ȝe gret famous Hercules  
For Dianyre ȝat felt ȝe shottes kene  
Riȝt so shal I y sei riȝt as I mene  
Whiles ȝat I lyve hir boȝe drede and serue  
For lak of merci pouȝ she do me sterve ».

This passionate declaration of the knight's on the subject of his love for his lady runs through a single sentence seventeen lines long, and is the worst passage in our poem; let us comment upon it. « Myn hert shal not reneye... to ben at hir desire » is an instance of Indefinite Infinitive (see § 55) and means « My heart shall not desist from being at her service »; after that, the first four lines of stanza 42 give mythological illustrations of the faith and constancy with which the knight declares he will love, and the last three lines conclude by saying that he shall be found true even as the two heroes just mentioned; stanza 43 starts again from « My heart shall not desist from being at her service »; the first four lines give two more mythological illustrations and the stanza concludes in the same way as the preceding. So that the passage is constructed thus: stanza 42 and stanza 43 are exactly symmet-

rical developments which are both dependent on « Myn hert shal not reneye... to ben at hir service ».

The whole may be paraphrased in the following way, keeping the clause-order and the structure of each clause unaltered : « I shal not desist, in spite of anything that may happen, from being at her service ; from being as true to her as Antony was to Cleopatra, or as Pyramus was to Thisbe, till death parted them : even so shall I be found her faithful man till Atropos slay me, as I am bound to be ; from loving her as well as Achilles loved Polixene to the last, or as Hercules, who felt the keen arrows of Love for Dejanira : even so shall I, and I speak from my heart, both dread and serve her while I live, though she kill me with unkindness ». The reader perceives that the sentence, though it should certainly not be put forward as a model, nevertheless stands together and even does not lack a certain clumsy symmetry. Yet, Schick proclaims that « it is impossible to construe it grammatically ».

I hope I shall be forgiven this long commentary ; it has revealed to us two important characteristics of Lydgate's confused Clause-Order. First, the abuse of incidental clauses like « for wele or wo », « vnto my last » (quite useless after « til Antropos me sleipe ») « whyles pat I lyve » etc. ; there are ten such in our seventeen lines. And secondly, allowing too much space to intervene between narrowly dependent clauses.

It is a general fact that our author is often led by the requirements of the metre to add unnecessary parenthetical remarks which burden the already encumbered sentence : see l. 73, 43, 554, 762, 911, and Sieper's Introduction (p. 54 foll.) to *Reson and Sensuallyte*, which last is far worse in this respect because it is a translation, and a translation of a sufficiently diffuse French poem.—The second point deserves closer attention. It ought first to be pointed out that relatives are given a very long reach and sometimes have to go back to their antecedents over a considerable number of words ; I shall quote a few of the more striking instances :

« And nygh bi Venus saugh I sit *Addoun*  
And al pe maner hov pe bore him slough,  
For *whom* she wepte and hade pein Inouze » 66 ;

a sad case of ambiguity.

In his dream Lydgate found himself

« Rauysshid in spirit in a *temple of glas*  
 I nyst how, ful fer in wildirnes,  
*That foundid was..... on a craggy roche » 19 ;*

in the Temple he

« herd *ofir* crie  
 With sobbing teris and with ful pitous sounne  
 Tofore pe goddes, bi lamentacioun,  
*That* were constrayned in hir tender youpe  
 And in childhode as it is oft[e] coupe  
 Yentred were into religioun  
 Or pei hade yeris of discrecioun  
*That* al her life cannot but complein... » 203.

This will suffice, I think, to show that Lydgate found no difficulty in linking a relative to its antecedent over three or four lines, these three or four lines being often beset with trap-falls into which a modern reader sinks at the first perusal.

The same over-long intervals also occur with conjunctions; but in this respect Lydgate had a gift for tumbling up and down over obstacles and then finding his feet again most unconcernedly:

« Alas when will pis turment ouersshake ?  
 I can not wit *for who* is hurt of nwe  
 And bledip inward til he wex pale of hwe  
 And hap his wound vnwarli fressh and grene  
 And is not koupe vnto pe harmes kene  
 Of mysti Cupide pat can so hertis davnte  
 That no man may in his werre him vaunte  
 To gete a pris but oonli bi mekenes  
*For here* ne vailep strif ne sturdines  
 So mai I sain pat with a loke am yold  
 And haue no power to stryue pouze I would » 624.

This needs a gloss, but a few words of explanation will make the structure and meaning of this ten-line sentence quite clear: in line 615, « *for, who...* » is equivalent to « *for, when any one...* »



(a frequent value of « who », see § 67), and in line 622 the « for » is reiterated and « pere » means « in that case », « for, pere.. » being thus a recall of the « for, who... » of l. 615. The passage may therefore be thus paraphrased « When will my torture end? I cannot tell, because when a man is newly hurt, and bleeds inward and grows pale and is not accustomed to the smart of Cupid's wounds (so mighty a God that only meekness can prevail with him) because, I say, when a man is in such a plight, strife and violence are of no avail to him; and well I know it by experience, for I have surrendered at a glance<sup>1</sup> and have no strength to fight, even if I wished<sup>2</sup> ». — What makes this sentence difficult is that seven lines intervene between the « for, who... » and the « for, pere... » which takes up the principal clause again. But indeed, the good monk deserves some thanks for the quiet way in which he gives us warning by reiterating his conjunction. This is of course an unusual occurrence, even in Lydgate, but similar feats of a less tremendous kind are not uncommon in his works: see lines 377-390 in our text: a « for » clause is begun in l. 377, taken up again in l. 384 after some wandering, and ended at last in line 390, after more wandering.

We must also add that in one case, lines 602-605, the author seems to have mazed himself completely; at any rate, we are unable to follow him. Indeed it would be fastidious to pick up all the instances of loose clause-order which we could come across, fastidious and unkind.

Let us rather, now that we know the nature of Lydgate's lax and confused clause-order, viz., that it is due chiefly to numerous incidental clauses and to over-distant relational and conjunctional connection, let us rather try to find the causes (apart, of course, from the author's personal carelessness about well-poised and concise writing) and, if there is occasion, the history, of this laxity and confusion.

Chaucer's habitual terseness and sequence should first be mentally compared with what we have just seen of his imitator's

1. « From my lady's eyes » of course.

2. Schick declares, by numerous dashes in the text, and openly in the Introduction (p. 136) that this passage also is not to be « construed grammatically ».

incompactness and broken inconsistency. Chaucer's sentences may be long, but they are always carefully, if sometimes to us men of another age not very elegantly, connected. But did Chaucer find his clause-order ready-made for him?

Earlier M. E. poetry is generally innocent of confused clause-order, and it is no wonder, for it avoids long sentences and the undeveloped simplicity of the construction is remarkable. Leaving aside such poems as *King Horn* and *Havelok the Dane*, whose short and invariably straightforward sentence is due partly to their rapid metre but more to the ruggedness and directness of their conception, let us consider the *Moral Ode* which deals with commonplaces some of which Chaucer half-humourously, and Lydgate in dead earnest, might have been pleased to adopt: the longest sentences in the *Moral Ode* just correspond with a rhyming couplet (two lines of seven beats each) and there is generally a slight pause after the first section of a line (fourth beat), so that an already very short sentence is cut up into little spasmodic utterances of four and three accents alternately, which absolutely prevents all but the most elementary kind of Clause-Order and Structure; and it is a fact that incidental and relational clauses are rare. The same might be said of the *Ormulum* (whose metre is identical, only different to the eye) and, more or less, of all M. E. verse before the xiv<sup>th</sup> century. It is to A.S. that we must go back for good instances of confused order; in Anglo-Saxon poetry, however, the confusion and laxity are not at all due, as in Lydgate, to incidental or relational clauses, for such are not much needed, but to numerous bewildering apposition-groups; a totally different thing.

As a rule, therefore, M. E. poetry is saved from looseness by very direct treatment and, consequently, short sentences, which are moreover enforced by the metre such as it was then understood; but, that the language was as yet too unsettled and too raw, as it were, to be capable of good arrangement and connection in long sentences, is very clearly seen in prose: there, authors did not fear to launch into wordy and intricate accounts and disquisitions, and besides, they were not restrained by metre; the ensuing laxity is found probably at its height in such works as the *Life of St Juliana* and the *Ancren Riwle*.

But when Chaucer came, he had at his disposal a much better developed syntax, for the language had made a decided rise in this respect at its entrance into the xiv<sup>th</sup> century : remember the advent at that time of two more relative pronouns and the increase of conjunctive affixes. He ventured, and with full success, into long, complex and indirect sentences ; he made for himself an excellent poetical clause-order, distinct and tidy ; this clause-order, however, was artless and plain, rather poor in shades and became painfully monotonous when not sustained by rhyme and metre (witness the general flatness of Chaucer's prose and its ungainliness in rendering the subtle logical connections of Latin in the *De Consolatione Philosophie*). Chaucer's genius was nevertheless required to create it and use it well.

Hoccleve and Lydgate who came after him lacked all such genius and were consequently unable to manage the excellent instrument which their master had bequeathed to them. What could they do ? Their conceptions were too complex to allow them to go back to the old clause simplicity ; besides, late Middle English ideas on metre no longer bound a poet to making the sense pause audibly, as it were, at the end of each line ; and above all they understood Chaucer's greatness, were bent on imitating him, and exclusively cared for the manner and subjects in which he had shown such mastery.

Hoccleve had some regard for style, therefore, in his attempt to write after Chaucer's fashion, he merely fell into a painful and difficult clause-order, due to unskilful handling of relatives and conjunctions (see especially the *Compleynt* in the *Minor Poems* and the moralisings of the *Regement of Princes*).

But Lydgate, though he easily grew fervent and enthusiastic over the matter of his works, little thought of the way in which they were written ; though his mind was imbued with Chaucerian views and ideas, with Chaucerian words and phrases, he seems to have ignored the Chaucerian Clause-Order, and so ruined himself as a writer.

After him, the Clause-Order remains for a time in a sadly unsettled state : Pecoock rushes into endless mazes of construction, when he tries to imitate Latin prose ; John Paston the younger, who had been at Cambridge, and read much (*The Temple of*

*Glas* among other things) writes diffuse and hardly readable letters, in which even a division of the whole into sentences is a thing generally unknown. But gradually, as the Syntax developed, (the relatives were specialised each to particular functions in the course of the xvi<sup>th</sup> century), as the Word-Order passed from the involved to the analytical stage, as Latin models were more and more studied, the Clause-Order emerged from chaos; not very fast: it cannot be said to be perfect in Elizabethan poets, and Sir Walter Raleigh who was, if not a scholar, yet a literary man, does not shrink from a sentence thirty lines long, which requires much thinking on the part of the reader to supply the missing connections and find out the half-formed ones<sup>1</sup>.

But the steady striving after purity and logical refinement went on: Waller already writes terse and highly wrought verse, and it is in the xviii<sup>th</sup> century that the Clause-Order attained that perfection and delicacy which makes English the equal of Latin at its best classical period.

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1. This sentence begins Raleigh's report of the last fight of the *Revenge*, edited by E. Arber.

## GENERAL SUMMING UP OF RESULTS

We are now in a position to situate Lydgate's syntax by drawing together the results which have been summed up at the end of each chapter : this is done in the following two tables, the items being ordered after their importance.

## I. — CHANGES SINCE CHAUCER.

1. Loss of the Chaucerian Clause-Order.
2. Advent of « Do » as common periphrastic Auxiliary (not yet known in interrogative and negative sentences).
3. { General Decay of Impersonal Verbs.  
Beginning of the change from « ye » to « you » in the nominative.
4. Decrease of the Negation « ne... not » and rise of the anomalous « not ».
5. « That » rarer as relative affix.
6. « That » (no longer « which that ») the favourite Relative.
7. First appearance of Relativial Subordination instead of Demonstrative Co-ordination, as a frequent usage.
8. « That » with instrumental value in comparative constructions and in ordinary use.
9. { Loss of the adverbial suffix « e ».  
Increasing number of adverbs in « li ».
10. The Anomalous « not » before the Verb.
11. « Who » = if any one, develops into a much-beloved construction.
12. Advent of « whereas » as general conjunction corresponding to the adv. « there ».
13. « Rise » of « with » introducing the agent in passive constructions.
14. « Thuruȝ » used more promiscuously.
15. Infinitival Reference to the Object (perhaps special to Lydgate).

II. — WHAT REMAINS IN LYDGATE BUT DISAPPEARS FROM E M<sub>N</sub> E.

1. Involved Word-Order (to a large extent).
 

<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a) Object-Pronoun before the verb.</li> <li>b) « To Be » after the past-participle and the adjective.</li> <li>c) Auxiliary after the verb (poetical).</li> <li>d) Preposition before the verb in dependent sentences.</li> <li>e) Freedom of arrangement with two words connected by « of ».</li> <li>f) Involved Order with two subjects to one verb or two verbs to one object.</li> </ol>	}	Syntactical.
	}	Stylistic.
2. Simple Negation.
3. Composite Negation.
4. Manifold Negation (to a large extent).
5. Substantival use of the Adjective in the Singular denoting one person in particular.
6. Substantival use of the Adjective in the plural without the Article.
7. « For » and the Adjective.
8. Loose Adverbial Reference.
9. « Of + Adjective » as an adverbial building process.
10. Indefinite use of « who » = if any one.
11. « This » with general undetermined meaning (to a large extent).
12. Pleonastic personal pronouns with proper names.
13. Elliptical use of « as » with certain Adverbs.

These tables tell their own tale : is it not wonderful to what tremendous extent the xv<sup>th</sup> century was an epoch of hurried and, as it were, fervid transition ? Lydgate may have known Chaucer

personally, at any rate he was born full twenty years before the latter died, and yet we find that between the works of the one and those of the other, such important changes had time to intervene as the advent of a new auxiliary and the already very far-gone decay of Impersonal Verbs which had barely begun in Chaucer, besides a number of comparatively minor variations. On the other hand though Lydgate died about 1450, yet such capital characteristics of his syntax as the Involved Word-Order, the Simple, Composite and Manifold negation, are dead or dying at the beginning of e. Mn. E. ; notice, by the by, that it does not fall within the scope of our inquiries to point out what *new* developments may have turned up between Lydgate and the xvi<sup>th</sup> century.

If we now compare Lydgate's syntax with Caxton's we find that the chief difference is caused by the analytical order having made considerable inroads into the latter. So that it would be unjustifiable to bring Lydgate's language under the same heading with Caxton's Transition M. E. ; we have seen that it cannot possibly be made to belong to the l. ME. of Chaucer : briefly to define its position one should say that Chaucer is the last l. ME. writer, that Lydgate's Syntax is already affected to a large extent by the transition which led from l. ME. to e. Mn. E., but that much was still to be changed before the language could become what is generally known under the name of Transition Middle English.

To sum up what the now concluding studies have made known concerning the whole period, it might be said that as the xii<sup>th</sup> century was the great turning-point of English Accidence, so did the xv<sup>th</sup> witness an evolution unprecedented and never since renewed in Syntax.

THE END.









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